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Scenes of Rural Life in Hampshire

'OLD PLACE' BESIDE THE CHURCH. [Frontispiece.

Scenes of
Rural Life in Hampshire
among
The Manors of Bramshott

By

W. W. Capes

Rector of Bramshott and sometime Reader in Ancient History in the University of Oxford

With Illustrations and Map

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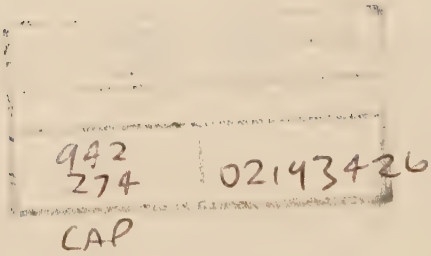

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PREFACE

At the close of a long period of ministerial work in Bramshott, the author has gathered up some memories of the past which may perhaps interest the friends from whom he has to part, as also possibly some others of a wider circle, who may care for illustrations of varied phases of rural life in England. Evidences for what is written in the text are given in the Appendices and Notes, but with a sparing hand, for often statements have been made after much study of family papers and of other local records, without the dry-as-dust details of references which might repel all but resolute readers with robust appetite for bristling facts.

It may be well to add that obvious inconsistencies in the spelling of personal and place names are not due to the vagaries of the writer or the printer, but represent in each case the actual practice of

the times, when as yet there were no fixed standards to vex the soul of childhood, but all wrote as they pleased.

Finally the writer's thanks are due to Miss Geikie and R. W. Beale, Esq., who have kindly allowed him to make use of photographs which they had taken.

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I.

EARLY CONDITIONS.

It is proposed in the following pages to throw such light as may be possible upon the past history of an obscure parish, which lies at the meeting point of the three counties of Hampshire, Surrey, and Sussex: not so much with the desire to illustrate at length the fortunes of the leading families which have held influence within it, as to inquire into the varying conditions of the people, and to trace in successive ages the gradual changes of landed tenure and of rural life. The local information will be chiefly drawn at first from the Court Rolls, and the documents which may be seen in the Record Office, Somerset House, and the British Museum, and for the last three hundred years from Parish Registers, together with Churchwardens' and Overseers' Accounts. But such data tell their tale in its fulness only to the antiquarian or expert; for the general reader often much illustration is required to set economic facts in their

proper light and to explain their actual meaning. In regard to these more general questions the writer has no new theory to maintain, and desires only to make the local pictures more complete, and to guide the reader's fancy in the reconstruction of the past.

First, as to the meaning of the name. The question is often asked, what shall be understood by the termination '*shott*' which is found in many place names besides Bramshott, though specially in a limited area in the southern counties? The safe answer to the question seems to be that it has no meaning, but is only a corrupt form of an old ending, and is due to the slovenly utterance of the people. No doubt there are other views upon the subject. Mr. Isaac Taylor, a competent but self-confident authority on place names, strings together Aldershot, Bagshot, Bramshott, Ewshot, and Lodshot; all of which, he says, ended originally in '*holt*,' and are evidence of the woods in which they lay. Another writer dealing with the "traces of history in the names of places," derives 'shott' from a Saxon verb sceotan = shoot, and regards the place so termed as an offshoot from some larger hills. But these are only random guesses, without a shadow of real evidence. The names in question, and many more which now end in the same way, like Empshot, Bradshot, Oakshot, Kempshot, can be traced back mostly for eight

hundred years, and in the earliest known forms nothing at all like 'holt' appears. Among the sixty different ways in which Bramshott has been spelt (Appendix A), and the many forms of the other names in question, there seems no trace of an *l* in the last syllable. *Shot* or *shott* itself comes comparatively late (note 1), and the earliest ending in most cases is *sete*, which points to the settlement or home of a family or clan, or to some natural features of the spot. What was the meaning of the first syllable of Bramshott—first known as Brenbresete—it is very hard to say. It may indicate the pride of Saxon settlers, in whose mouth '*brem*' meant 'noble'; it may, if we would take a humbler view, denote the brambles which grew freely in it; it may, as in the names of Bramshaw and Bramley, have meant something which we shall never know. Mr. Taylor's theory is the more unfortunate because we can with certainty infer from data which we have that in far-off times there was little wood in Bramshott as compared with the country round it. It was the centre only of the present Parish which then bore the name, and in the days of the Norman Conquest its acorns and beechnuts provided food for no more than ten hogs, while thirty could be kept in the coppices of the adjoining Chiltelee and fifty in those of Ludshot. The Father of History tells us that Egypt was the gift of the Nile, whose streams in the

course of ages had brought down the fertile soil on which men lived. So, to compare small things with great, we may say that the Wey made Bramshott, for the meadows through which the river winds its meandering course attracted probably the settlers who formed the first agricultural community within them. The bed in which the streamlet flows is very narrow now, but the valley which contains the bed points to the larger volume of the waters which hollowed out in early times a wider channel.

Here too on one side the wooded lands abruptly stopped; at least the great Andredsweald, which spread through Sussex far into Kent 120 miles or more, runs into Hampshire only a few miles up the hills to Privet, where the *Saxon Chronicle* tells us that King Sigbert of Wessex was slain as a fugitive on the confines of the Weald by a poor hogherd of Earl Cumbra, who had been murdered by his order. It may be of interest to quote the remark of Lambarde on the event: "The history of this hogherd presenteth to my mind an opinion that some men maintain touching the Weald, which is that it was a great while together in manner nothing but a desert and waste wilderness, not planted into towns or peopled with men, as the outsides of the shore were, but stuffed with herds of deer and droves of hogs only. Which conceit, though happily it may seem a paradox, yet in mine own fantasy it

wanteth not the feet of sound reason to stand upon." On the north the Weald, which was probably something such as Lambarde described, did not reach beyond the boundaries implied in the names of Haslemere and Lynchmere, in which the termination means a 'limit,' not a lake.

Definite data for the history of the district do not exist for times earlier than the Conquest. Celts and arrow heads of the stone age have been found, especially in the field called 'Tunbridge,' which was certainly the centre of the early agricultural life, the scene of the first 'town,' or primitive enclosure, and afterwards the demesne land of the Manor.

Local fancy, stirred by the sight of these instruments of war turned up by the plough, has thought of the spot as a battle-field where British warriors fought. More probably there was a prehistoric workshop near, and the weapons found may have been brought down from higher ground with some of the gravel which lies in a deep bed close by. On the high land again by 'Weaver's Down' there are a few barrows, not to speak of the great mound at Hollywater, and some of these have been opened and explored, but under conditions which make it hard to speak with any certainty of the results. We may leave the question therefore undecided whether the early tribes who wandered on those Downs were of

the dolichokephalic (long-headed) or the brachykephalic (short-headed) races, and belonged to the age of stone or bronze. In the documents of Saxon times no data can be found of local interest for our purpose, though there are hundreds of old charters which deal with the formal transfer of land, and give early variations of place names elsewhere. The kings who held their Court at Winchester had estates in the Meon Valley, and in neighbouring parts of Hampshire Greatham and other manors belonged to Queen Eddid and Countess Gida and others of the royal family. A victory was won by Danish arms not far away at Alton in 1001, but there is no certain reference in chronicle or charter to anything that passed in this quiet oasis amid the forest lands.

We have in *Domesday book* our first starting-point of local history. That great landed survey of the Conqueror describes in terms which are definite though brief, five distinct Manors, which are contained wholly or in part in what is now the Parish of Bramshott, but which probably was not as yet marked out as an ecclesiastical district grouped round and connected with a church. These bore the names of Brenbresete, Ciltelei, Lidessete, Acangre and Hertinges (App. B). The two last mentioned had their centres far away, and only outlying portions ran up as far as Bramshott. As in other cases *Domesday* notes the name of the owner of each

Manor, who held under the King as the supreme lord ; it specifies the number of the labourers in their different degrees, the mills, the meadows, the plough-lands and the actual number of the plough teams, and the assessment at the time as also for the earlier days of Edward. Some of these points must be considered more at length when we are dealing with the constitution and the characteristic features of the Manors. It may be enough now to say that each represented usually an agricultural community, which worked the land in some respects on co-operative principles, and in which individual rights were limited by the control of other members. On this a feudal lord was superposed. The Conquest seems to have strengthened the powers of the lord, and lowered the status of the labouring peasants, causing thus a curious blending of inconsistent elements of servitude and freedom.

The area of cultivation in the case of each community was generally small, and the heads of families were few. Thus in Brembresete there were 13 villagers and land for five plough-teams ; in Ciltelei there were but four tenants and two plough-teams ; in Lidessete there were ten villagers with five ploughs ; Acangre had sixteen, but Hertinges, whose wide stretch of lands extended ten miles away, contained as many as 163 villans and 20 serfs. For the present it may be convenient to deal only with the lords. It was

the policy of the Conqueror to secure his hold upon the lands near the southern coasts through which the communications with Normandy must be maintained. Over a wide stretch of country therefore the Saxon landowners were ousted, and their estates bestowed on the most trusty of his followers, whose loyal services he thus rewarded. Bramshott was given with many other Manors to Edward of Salisbury, one of the most distinguished soldiers of the age (note 2). One hide in the Manor was claimed by William of Mauduit, as appurtenant to his demesne of Hartley Mauduit. He was chamberlain to the Conqueror, and ancestor of the William Mauduit, who in right of his wife Alice, daughter of Waleran, Earl of Warwick, became entitled to that Earldom. The Hundred testified that the claim of William to the hide was justified, but it is hard to explain, and the relation between the two Manors did not appear in later years.

Lidessete fell to Hugo de Port, the most powerful of Hampshire landowners, whose portion included more than fifty Manors. Ciltelei was kept as a royal manor, like Godalming and Basingstoke and Maple-dresham (which included Petersfield). Roger de Montgomeri, who led the centre of the Norman army at Hastings, had grants of many lands in Sussex and Hertinges among them. For trusted as the Norman chieftains were, the estates given them lay

often far apart, and thus a balance and variety of local interests was secured, if not designed. They held their lands directly of the King, as tenants in chief of the Supreme lord, bound to service in the field and to other feudal obligations. But the Manors were often underlet by them in whole or part on varying conditions, and a number of intermediate tenures might be interposed between the King and the actual tillers of the ground. Dependent Manors were also carved out of the larger and original units, till the process of Subinfeudation was arrested by the statute *Quia Emptores* in 1290. The terms of the grants were sometimes singular enough. The Crown, the tenants in chief, and even their subtenants, let the Manors or lands at times on fanciful conditions, or for services distinct from those of military aid. Estates in the forest lands were held by huntsmen, thus the lord of Acangre was bound to provide a pack of white hounds when the King would hunt. Sherfield on Loddon, and Poyle and Catteshill near Guildford carried the duty of keeping order among the laundresses of the royal household, and as the term *meretrices* bore commonly a lower meaning, the nature of the tenure thus misunderstood has sometimes caused a natural surprise at the immoralities suggested. At Rogate and for Gentles, a small holding in Lidessete, it was only needful to present a red rose in lieu of rent. In

other manors the personal service was to take the form of holding the King's head when he was sea-sick, or of saying a Paternoster or Ave Maria for him every day.

If we take now the several Manors with which we are here specially concerned, and try to learn what we can of the ruling families who in the earlier ages had practical possession of them, we find that the House of Salisbury soon passed on their fee to other hands to hold under it. In the century following the Conquest, a family which took its name from Bramshott held it as a knight's fee under the tenant in chief.

One after another, nearly always a William and a John, son followed father in natural succession, living in the Manor house, busy with local interests as well as county work, till the close of the fifteenth century, when two coheiresses carried the estates to other families by marriage, and the personal name of the Bramshotts disappeared (App. C 1). Not indeed one of the most distinguished families of Hampshire, like the Uvedales, Berkeleys, Pophams, and Brocases, nor linking its name with any work of national importance, it took a good place among the neighbouring gentry, who are often mentioned in connection with it in old deeds. When the Priory of Selborne profited by the pious liberality of some landowner, it often asked the Knight of Bramshott

to come and lend his signature as witness, and he seems to have spelt his name differently each time.

A William of Brembleschete at the end of the thirteenth century was nominated by the Crown repeatedly as a man of local weight to act in its behalf. He served as sheriff for four years, went as a friend to the Brocas family to attest their deeds, and was summoned to Basingstoke to give his evidence when John de St. John's rights to have free gallows, pillory, and tumbell in his demesne lands in Basing were called in question, and reaffirmed as of immemorial use. At his death in 1309 there was a considerable funeral feast at which a butt of cyder was consumed with five hogs and three sheep, six geese, three hens, and one and a half gallon of oysters. One hare only appeared in the menu to represent the game-preserving in the manor.

The influence and estates of the family were not confined to Bramshott. Twice they intermarried with the Lisles of the Isle of Wight. One Sir John married the sister and coheiress of John of Gatcombe, and that Manor and other lands passed into the possession of his family. The daughter of another John of Bramshott married a Sir John de Lisle, Lord of Woodston, and from her were descended both the John Lisle of Moyles Court, who as judge condemned Charles I., and the husband of the Lady Lisle who suffered as the victim of the brutal Jeffreys

for harbouring unawares the partisans of Monmouth. The manor and historic house of Lordington in Sussex passed through the Lisles of Gatcombe into the hands of William Bramshott in 1428, and he had also after 1439 part of the Manor of Compton in the Rape of Chichester.

As at Yateley there were also three places close together called Bramshott, Ludshot, and Hewshott, which are mentioned in the Court Rolls of Crondale, it is natural to suppose that the identity of names points to an extension of the influence of the family in that district.

John Bramshott, the last male of the direct line, died in 1460, and soon the family name, here at least, quite disappears. (Pedigree in App. E II.) Many Court Rolls however still remain, which, beginning at 1280, cover nearly the whole period after that during which the family lived on the estate. Where and by what hands they were preserved is quite unknown, but after their wanderings they have been brought back recently to the place where they were drawn up centuries ago.

Though they deal mainly with the petty breaches of manorial law and the incidents of landed tenure, they are of value, as they enable us to trace the course of social changes and estimate the numbers and the status of the tenants. It will be convenient to pause here at this period, and reserve the further history of

this Manor for a later chapter, after a sketch of the early conditions of the other Manors, which will be briefer than in the case of Bramshott, as fewer materials have been preserved.

The adjoining Lidessete, or Ludshot, was one of the fifty-six manors in Hampshire held directly from the Crown, together with thirteen from the Bishop of Bayeux, by the great noble Hugo de Port, who derived his name from Port en Bressin, a little village a few miles from Bayeux. This, like many of the others, seems to have been kept commonly by the tenant in chief in his own hands, with no grant of the whole to a resident sub-tenant. It was closely connected with the family for centuries, not under the same name, indeed, as the following passage of Camden will sufficiently explain: "When Adam de Portu, lord of Basing, a mightie man in this tract, and of great wealth . . . matched in marriage with the daughter and heire to the right noble house of St. John, William his sonne, to doo honour unto that familie, assumed to him the surname of St. John, and they who lineally descended from him have still retained the same. But when Edward St. John departed out of this world without issue in King Edward the Third his time, his sister Margaret bettered the state of her husband, John Saint Philibert, with the possessions of the Lord Saint John, and when she was dead without children, Isabell the other sister,

wife unto Sir John Poinings, bare unto him Thomas, Lord of Basing, whose niece Constance by his sonne Hugh (unto whom this fell for her child-part of inheritance) was wedded into the familie of Powlet, and she was great grandmother to that Sir William Powlet who being made Baron Saint John of Basing, by King Henry the Eighth, and created by King Edward the Sixth first Earl of Wiltshire, and afterward Marquesse of Winchester, and withall was Lord Treasurer of England, having in a troublesome time runne through the highest honour, fulfilled the course of nature with the satietie of his life . . . after he had built a most sumptuous house heere, for the spacious largenesse thereof admirable to the beholder." (Holland's transl.)

At times, indeed, other names besides these appear as those of owners. Thus early in the thirteenth century the Selborne charters refer to several grants of land in Ludshot from William of Arundel, who held under Robert St. John, and it was his gift of the titles to the Priory of Sherborne that the Rector of Bramshott pertinaciously resisted, as will presently be shown. At much later dates the Knight and Tichborne families were in possession for a while. But these were probably matters of family arrangement due to intermarriage, and temporary transfers or enfeoffments. Here also Court Rolls exist to illustrate the history of the estate, not indeed of such

early date as those of Bramshott, but various points of interest come to light in them, and these will presently be noticed. (App. C II.)

Acangre, as to the tenure of which some doubt was expressed in *Domesday*, was held of the King by a huntsman serjeanty under conditions lately mentioned by one called William of Hachangre. Others of the family are mentioned in the Selborne charters. From them it passed into the possession of the St. Johns, to the Earl of Pembroke in the 14th century, and to Lord de la Warr in the fifteenth. (App. C III.)

Of the early history of Chiltelee not much is known. (App. C IV.) It was of slight value when the Conqueror took it for himself, and dispossessed the freeholder Lauch who had enjoyed it. It sunk, we know not why, to a quarter of its earlier assessment. In the 13th century a family which took its surname from the Manor was in possession of it, and was mentioned from time to time in the Court Rolls of Bramshott, or as representing the parish at Winchester, when the income of the year was officially reported. They disappear from view soon afterwards, though possibly they lingered on for centuries in humbler state under the name of 'Chitty.' After this time, with but short intervals, the lords of Bramshott held the adjacent Manor, but an interesting brass in the Parish Church records the memory of a John and

Elizabeth Belton of Chiltelee. The figures and inscription, now affixed to the Chancel wall, belong apparently to the 15th century, but nothing is known of their origin and fortunes, though a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1795 speaks of these descendants as living in the neighbourhood, "but conditioned to the humiliating necessity of day labour!"

Barlavington in Sussex was shortened, we are told, in local speech into the form of Belton, and possibly these lords of Chiltelee had only wandered thence.

As Chiltelee was a manor of 'ancient demesne,' that is, had belonged to the King in olden time, its tenants enjoyed of common right certain privileges or exemptions from the burdens which fell on the inhabitants of neighbouring manors. They might claim to be quit—to use the archaic formula—"as touching payment of Toll-money, Stall-money, Highway-money, Bridge-money, Pitching-money, Packing-money, Standing-money, and Passing-money, and from expenses of Knights of the Parliament, and not to be sworn in assizes or put upon recognitions, but only such as ought to be in the Counties of the same manors." It is probable, however, that these exemptions were allowed to lapse, as the tenants were too few, and their lords too passive, to substantiate their claims.

The strip of Sussex that ran up into the parish as far as Liphook was in *Domesday* times part of the great Manor of Hertinges bestowed upon the Earl Roger de Montgomery. This was forfeited when his son took Count Robert's side against Henry I., and granted to the family of the Husseys, who came from *la Houssaie* near Rouen, and held it for more than 400 years. It was parted into submanors at a later date, but little is known of Rogate Bohunt as one of them till the 16th century, and any further account of it may be deferred.

II.

THE FORMATION OF THE PARISH.

In the earliest notices of Bramshott we read only of the Manors and the several lords and villagers. It is natural to ask the question, When was the Parish formed and the Church built on it, and under what conditions were the boundaries defined? There is no documentary evidence at all upon the subject. *Domesday book* does not concern itself with Parishes, and only occasionally mentions Churches and priests. The earliest notice that we find of any Rector is of a certain Matthew who held the benefice of 'Brembelsete' in 1225-30. There were others probably before him, but no episcopal Registers of such early date survive, and no record therefore of any institutions. To parson Matthew we have only incidental reference in connexion with a document preserved among the charters of the Priory of Selborne. That religious house often profited by the liberality of its neighbours, and acquired in 1237 some lands at Lud-

shot which William of Arundel had before given to his sister, and which had reverted to him (note 3). In those days when landed property was dealt with the deed of transfer might be very short indeed ; a strip of parchment only a few inches square might be enough to state the conditions and define the limits, but men of local standing were invited to give their sanction by their presence and sign-warrant to the act. They came from miles away, squires and ecclesiastics, with their official seal, or the copies of their coats of arms engraved upon their signet rings, and formally attested the execution of the deed. Parson Matthew therefore went to Ludshot for the purpose, just as the lords of Bramshott rode over frequently to Selborne on like errands. Many such documents in the country-side, perhaps, were witnessed by him and his successors, but they have perished, while the Selborne charters have been kept safe from careless hands and fire and damp in the strong room of a College at Oxford.

The earliest portion of the existing Church seems to have been built early in the thirteenth century, but there may have been a less substantial one before it. At least a hundred years before that time little village churches had been built not far away, in what must have been thinly peopled districts, some of them, perhaps, before the parishes themselves were formed. It was the work of centuries to carve out

in the whole country the ecclesiastical districts recognised in later times. It was not due to any action of the State, nor was it carried out on any distinct principle or system, and a variety of personal and local influences caused the great differences of size and shape, and the strange anomalies which we now find so hard of explanation.

When questions are asked upon the subject the answers are often perfunctory and loose, and Bramshott may serve as a good test case to show that the problem is not easy. The Saxon township, we are told, on the high authority of Bishop Stubbs, became in natural course the appropriate district for the parish priest. When the group of population was compact, and the limits clearly marked, the change would be reasonable enough, but here the statement only throws the difficulty further back. How could there have been a township formed, cutting across the distinct lines of five agricultural communities, bringing villagers together for civil uses who had little else in common, weakening thereby the ties of what were in the main self-governing republics? Another common answer is that the lord of the Manor built the Church for his family and tenants, at his own cost, and that the shape of his estate—with all its possible irregularities and outlying fragments—determined of necessity the size and condition of the Parish, "it being notorious that the

boundaries of ancient parishes were coterminous with the manors of their founders," as it has recently been said. It is doubtful if manorial lords were often so free handed in their voluntary action as is sometimes suggested, but it seems at any rate that here the theory cannot account for all the facts. If the owner of Bramshott, or the knight who held the fee of the House of Salisbury, had the will and means to build a Church close to his own home, how could he proceed to annex to his own sphere of influence for religious purposes large portions of four other adjacent manors, and presume to make provision for their tenants.

Squires resident on their estates might conceivably have clubbed together, and raised funds and agreed about the boundaries in question, but a noble Montgomery of Harting, a de Port or St. John of Warneford or of Basing, were not so easily approached, and had little of the local knowledge and interest needful to carve a Parish out of five entirely separate estates. The explanation must be sought elsewhere. Ecclesiastical authority alone was earnest and strong enough in those days to apply the necessary pressure, and override local rivalries for the general good. To illustrate this clearly it will be well to trace in the very briefest terms some of the gradual changes of Church Extension in our Island.

At first the Bishopric was the only parish known.

The body of clergy, whom the Bishop gathered round him, travelled through the country districts, preaching at the wayside Cross; for the Crouch or Rude which occur so often among local names carry us back in fancy to the scenes where those missionary clergy taught. The offerings of the people, of varying amount, though the term tithes was applied in deference to Scriptural usage, were given directly to the Bishop, to be by him assigned to the maintenance of the clergy, the relief of the poor, and the outlay on church building. To this period, and the age which immediately followed it, belong the rules of the threefold division of the tithes, on which Cobbett and later hostile critics have laid stress, in ignorance that as yet the parochial system, as we understand it, had not been organized at all. But besides the stately Minsters in the centre of each diocese, and the great monastic shrines, churches were gradually built where population clustered thickly and industrial activity was strong. Kings and nobles were forward in the work, and permanent endowments were bestowed. Large quantities of land, for example, were booked—as the phrase was—by Ethelwulf of Wessex in the ninth century for religious uses, the King that is made over such dues and profits in them as were his to give, and these were in later ages the possessions of Cathedral Chapters, Abbeys, and great Churches. Noble land-

owners followed the example, and gave glebes and tithes for ministries in the sacred buildings which they were encouraged to erect, or to the religious houses which won their reverent regard. The influence of the Church was steadily directed, age after age, in that direction. By the moral pressure which it could legitimately exert, by the appeal, it must be owned, to superstitious hopes and fears, it kept the regular payment of tithes as an imperative duty before the people's mind, and secured due provision for spiritual ministrations far and wide. But for centuries it was a moral obligation only; the laws of early Saxon kings were counsels of perfection, not long enforced by penal sanctions.

From the eighth to the twelfth century the practice was vague and ill-defined. Tithes were bestowed, but the donor made his own rules as to what was or was not to be tithed; the son claimed the right to annul or modify the father's gift. The Dowager Countess of Warrenne withdrew her husband's benefactions, and Archbishop Theobald, though he wrote to her in the strongest terms about the "stupendous grievance," did not question her legal right of action. The grant was sometimes made to a monastery, sometimes to the local church. The *Chronicles of Abingdon* illustrate at large the perplexing variety of usage, and the freedom from all but spiritual control. But the pressure was so steadily directed, and the sanctions at the

disposal of the Church seemed so tremendous, that by the thirteenth century the practice of tithe paying was universal, though doubtless there had been many unwilling givers, and the Common Law assumed it to be the people's will, and even without further proof recognised it as a legal obligation in its Courts.

Still, it was an open question to whom the tithes were to be paid. Much had been secured already by religious houses, with formal evidence of charters duly executed and attested. There was much more they hankered after, and in return for it they promised the potent efficacy of their prayers in behalf of pious donors, and the privilege of safe interment within their hallowed precincts. But soon the power of arbitrary choice was narrowed. The Lateran Council of 1170 declared itself in favour of the prior claim of local churches, and presently in default of proof of an early grant to monks or nuns both ecclesiastical and common law decided all disputes in favour of the secular clergy. Such a dispute there actually was in Bramshott in the middle of the thirteenth century. Hugh of Arundel had made a formal deed of gift in favour of the Priory of Sherborne, near Basingstoke. "Know all men in the present and in time to come that I, Hugh of Arundel, have confirmed the grant which my ancestors made to the house of Scireburne and the monks who serve God within it, the tithes of all my demesne in

Lidesate, and of the ground which I have brought into cultivation from the waste in the same vill, and have made over to my tenants." Parson Matthew, however, of Brembesete—the same who signed the Selborne charter a few years before—laid claim to the tithes as his, on the ground probably that the owner's discretionary power of assignment had passed away. The question was referred at first to the Priors of Wallingford and Eynsham, but the Rector appealed from their decision to the Papal Court, and the Dean and the Penitentiary of St. Paul's were empowered to hear the pleadings. A friendly arrangement was finally effected, and the pertinacious Matthew enjoyed the tithes for life, paying thirteen shillings yearly to the convent, and this rent-charge was continued till the house ceased to be. It is of interest to note that Sherborne was an alien Priory, founded and endowed by Henry de Port, the lord of Basing: itself a cell of the Norman house of S. Vigor at Cerisy la Forêt (in the diocese of Bayeux), to which the sympathies of the Norman family naturally inclined, and the tithes were given to it "for the soul of my lord King Henry and of his son, for the souls of my father and mother and of myself, and my wife and children, and of all the people of Shirebourn." Like the followers of the Conqueror, the monasteries of Normandy had largely profited by the success of the invaders, and the many offshoots

founded in the Southern Counties were due alike to political and religious motives. Besides the documents which have been quoted, which exist among the archives of Queen's College, Oxford, there is evidence of a like dispute between this Priory and the Rector of Manydown about 1282, which was decided in the Archbishop's court after appeal to the Pope and long delay.

To return now to the question of the process by which the parochial boundaries were originally defined, we can only see in that, as in the obligation of tithe payment, the effect of ecclesiastical control. The initiative may have often come from the desire of a settled district to secure near at hand regular ministrations and a local priest. People could not long rest content with occasional instruction at the village Cross from an itinerant clergy, and it was a long walk to Petersfield or Selborne. Appeal to the Bishop naturally followed. He alone could consecrate a church when built, or license the priest who was to serve in it. He could make his own terms before consenting to do either act; could insist that the building should be worthy of the cause, could perhaps force the people to build one if they were too tardy, for all through the Middle Ages we find episcopal control boldly and successfully exerted to have the needful repairs and enlargements of existing churches carried out,

and due provision made of bells and vestments. It rested doubtless with him or with his agents, after adequate inquiries, to determine the extent of the district which was to be assigned, with a view to the convenience of the population round the church. There was no civil machinery known to us which could be set in motion for the purpose: it was a matter in which the clergy and the parishioners only were concerned, though the State thought it well afterwards to adopt for its own purposes the limits of the Parochial system. But hundreds of years later it was so ill-informed upon the subject as to assume for fiscal objects that the Parishes of England were nearly five times more numerous than they actually were (40,000, instead of 8,600). Indeed, the collectors of the King's taxes for a long time used in preference the principle of manorial subdivisions, which appears commonly in the Rolls of the Lay Subsidies.

It is strange that there is so little formal evidence upon the subject, but Selden quotes a letter from Pope Alexander III., which instructed the Archbishop of York to have a church built for a town which had none near enough at hand. He was to institute an incumbent and to form a Parish. Across the Channel official language was far more explicit, and action had been taken at an earlier date. By the Council of Toulouse in 845 the Bishops were formally empowered to determine the parochial boun-

daries. The Carlovingian Capitularies insist upon the need of episcopal control, that such limits may be fixed as may suit the requirements of the people, with a view to the conditions of the roads and streams and forests. We may take it, therefore, that the arrangement made was as practical as any which could have been suggested. Probably the outlying parts of some of the manors, which were not included, were mainly woodland and waste. The part of Acangre which was brought in was a fragment far away from its real centre, much nearer to the church at Bramshott than to the chapel which was provided at the hamlet which bore the name (Selborne Charters I. 46). The long strip of Rogate Bohunt or Harting, which ran up with the county boundaries of Sussex past what is now called Liphook (note 4), was parted from the remainder of the Manor by a wide stretch of waste. All told, the population was for a long time very small, and the church, on the scale of the present chancel—for the transepts, though ancient, were rebuilt and enlarged at a later date—was intended only for a scanty congregation.

Of the value of the benefice we have definite accounts at different dates. Pope Nicolas IV. had a new assessment made of all the ecclesiastical property in England in 1291 for purposes of taxation, and Bramshott was entered on the roll for £10 13s. 4d., while Lyss was £16, and Alton £60. In the year

1339 the Commons made a grant for royal needs of a ninth of the main income of the year, and as no adequate statistics then existed, it was provided that several men of character and standing in each parish should make formal affidavit on the subject. William of Chiltelee and others therefore betook themselves to Winchester and swore before the justices that the ninth of corn and wool and lambs was worth £4 10s., while the Rector had sixty acres of glebe, worth thirty shillings, and his tithes together with offerings and dues would be £5 16s. 8d. (note 5). We must suppose that William of Chiltelee and his friends were well informed, but in that case the glebe has shrunk since then, and twenty acres of it have been lost. In their return the population was purely agricultural; there were no traders mentioned, though it was a duty to assess their gains, where any such existed. Probably the rule did not apply to the brewsters and the tipplers—to those who sold, not those who drank, the beer which was then on sale in nearly every hamlet. The tithes, it may be noticed, then included far more of the produce than in later times, not corn and hay and straw alone, but all kinds of stock, even to the honey of the bees, and pigeons in the dovecot, and fishes from the stream, and personal profits as well as the harvests of the field. Even literary profits, slender as they were in those rude times, were in theory at least included. In

Henry VIII.'s time the whole value of tithes, offerings and dues was estimated at £18 17s. 3d., with a deduction of 8s. 3d. for procurations and synodals to the archdeacon.

From the beginning of the thirteenth century to the present time a fairly complete list of the Rectors can be ascertained, as given in the Appendix D. There are some breaks indeed. The successor of Matthew is not known, for no Bishop's Registers begin so early for this diocese. At the beginning of the fifteenth century there may be another gap, for part of one Register has been lost. With these exceptions the list is probably complete. The patrons of the benefice are also known. For the most part the Bramshott family kept the advowson in their hands, though there was an interval of a few years when others presented to the living. Thus in 1314 and again in 1316 Henry le Scrope acted as patron, a distinguished servant of the Crown, who was Chief Justice of the King's Bench from 1317 to 1323, and chief baron of the Exchequer in 1330. He was richly rewarded for his services, and at his death in 1336 he left landed property in six different counties, but none was specified for Hampshire, and there seems nothing to explain his short-lived influence at Bramshott. On several occasions later on the right of presentation was exercised for a single turn—*pro hac vice*—for family or other reasons. It may

have been so with Henry le Scrope and Andrew of Hoftofte. Of course, as the benefice was of fair value, the Squires had sometimes relatives of their own to fill the place, and young men who were not yet in Holy Orders, or only in the lowest grade as Acolytes, were presented on the understanding that leave of absence would be granted while they went to a University to pursue their studies, and be qualified for ministerial work. One pledged himself only to proceed to the subdiaconate but was not bound to ask for the higher orders. Twice at least in a much later period the manor and the benefice were held in the same hands. Episcopal Registers are not always pleasant reading, for they deal very frankly with grave shortcomings of the clergy, but happily in the case of Bramshott the worst that is recorded in them is that one Rector in the fourteenth century was not residing, and the Archdeacon was bidden to ascertain the cause. Much graver faults are recorded for some of the Parishes around.

It might be of interest, if it were only possible, to sketch in much more detail some scenes of clerical life in Hampshire at this period, and the relations which existed between the Rectors and the parishioners at large. In another work, *The English Church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, the author has tried to put together such knowledge as we have as to the position of the clergy in the later Middle Ages.

A reviewer stated somewhat broadly that the picture was sadly incomplete. So it was, perhaps, but then our information is but partial. They were only quiet folks who did not force themselves upon the notice of the readers or the writers of the times. Monastic chroniclers, who wrote most of the history of early days, thought meanly of them as too secular to suit their taste, and as grudging the religious houses the tithes that they would gladly get to build statelier refectories and minsters. The Bishops were statesmen and great nobles, with little time for intercourse with humble priests, and scanty knowledge of their course of life. Popular poetry found more tempting subjects for its satire in scandalous stories about monks and friars, and seldom touched upon the experiences of the parsonage and village pulpit. We do know something of the earlier stages of the clerical career, of the studies and, we must add, of the riotous follies at the Universities, in which, perhaps, they took their share; the list of books they had to read; the kinds of examinations which they had to pass; the poor stipends which the high-placed officials thought quite enough for the unbeneficed clergy; of these we are told in much detail. The Bishop's Pastorals describe the sort of religious instruction which they were required to give their people. A large number of manuals for sermon-writing, and specimens of pulpit oratory, have been

preserved. They were certainly not so ill-informed as has been hastily assumed. But what the men themselves were like in daily intercourse with the villagers around them, how far they lived up to the high standard of their office, and used moral influence for unselfish ends, we have very scanty means of judging, and pictures drawn in much detail would not be sober history but works of fiction.

Unfortunately there is not anything in Hampshire records to correspond to the results of the inquiries made in the diocese of Exeter early in the fourteenth century by the Cathedral Chapter. In their visitations of the parishes of which they were the patrons, they asked the leading parishioners in each case how far the incumbent did his duty. On the whole it was a creditable report, spoke with more favour of the sermons than people would do nowadays perhaps: they were too short rather than too long, though some regretted that the vicar's instruction was too meagre, and that he did not invite more often to his pulpit the popular preacher or revivalist who came there in the Friar's garb. The impression which the answers leave is that of kindly relations between the clergy and the people, and a general influence for good. Let us hope that it was here the same. At any rate what we can gather of the details of village life within the Manor—of which we must speak

presently—points to an industrious and peaceful state, with much respect for law and order.

Parishes like Bramshott, parted by long distances of heath and forest, were not allowed to feel themselves quite isolated from the centre of the diocese. Each had to send its contribution yearly at Whitsuntide to maintain the altar lights and incense in the Cathedral Church. The dues were called by the quaint name, "Smoke farthings," and boxes were kept in which the parishioners deposited their coins. Even after the Reformation the practice was observed, and "Pentecost money" appears at the end of the 17th century in the Churchwarden's accounts. Besides this, it was customary to leave some little sum at death for the "mother church," as it was called, as well as to the humbler building in the parish and its poor. The Clergy, who helped to make the wills of their parishioners, pressed doubtless this duty on their thoughts at last, and worded the bequests. When definite sums were not assigned, the executors often were empowered to act on their discretion for the "soul's health" of the testator, and this was understood to mean the discharge of moral and religious obligations. Commonly, however, they were not content to defer such signs of interest in the Church life around them, or to leave others to dispense their alms. There were many gifts bestowed in kind, such as cows, and sheep, and bees, to form a "church stock," as it was called, of

which the wardens had the charge. This was further increased by the proceeds of the village merry-makings, the church ales on the festival of the patron saint, and at other times, by the contributions of parochial guilds, or Robin Hood and his company, and by frequent offerings for special objects. The details of the accounts preserved bear witness to the liveliest interest of all classes and both sexes in these matters, for women served as wardens, and appeared at vestry meetings. The parish was a little free republic of which the state hardly took notice until after the Reformation, when its machinery was used for civil objects, such as to raise subsidies and provide for the trained bands, when we find the entries "the subsidye byll," and the "mowster byll," and "sett for the sodwdyars."

Ecclesiastical control, of course, was carefully maintained, though episcopal visits were very rare, except when a bishop had a manor-house close by, as East Meon or Bishop's Waltham. Confirmations were almost unknown in parishes like Bramshott ; but the wardens had to attend the Archdeacon's visitations, and they never failed to enter their expenses on the journey ; the apparitor's fees were duly noted, and in later days they often had to pay him also for "a booke," when some new order or set of prayers was issued. Thus we read of "a booke against the Torke," or "agaynste invadinge of the Turke," and a

"booke of the prossessyon," or the new Litany, and of "injuccions" (injunctions) and "homilies," and the "perrafrase" (Paraphrase of Erasmus on the Gospels), and the book of Canons.

From early days there were official services performed by a "carrier of holy water" (*aquae bajulus*), who was known afterwards as a Parish Clerk. If a young scholar could be found at hand, who was reading for Holy Orders, it was his privilege to perform the duties which consisted in taking the consecrated water to the people's homes, and helping the priest in church. He was admitted to the lower orders of doorkeeper and reader. When he first appears in the accounts of Bramshott his 'wages,' paid through the wardens, were very small; but probably he had other dues from the householders besides. Sometimes a shock of corn (10 sheaves) was given by every farmer. In a Somersetshire Parish, for example, after much dispute, a formal award was made as follows: "He shall have a stetch (shock) of clean corn of hevery house . . . he that hath no clean corn shall pay a stetch of wots (oats), and he that hath no corn shall pay the clerk 3 pence. . . . Also he shall have 1d. a quarter of every householder, and the clerk shall have at every wedding 2d.; also at every corsse (corpse) present, and at every month's end that is sung by note, the clerk shall have 2d.; also the clerk shall be

charged with nothing saving only with one challis, and with the church dore key, this to keep and hide as he will do his own. Also he shall go about the parish once a year with his holy water, when men have shorn their sheep to gather some wool to make him cotts (coats) to goo yn the parish's livery. And here for the clerk shall help the warden to make up the vestments, and to dress the altars. . . . Also at every Easter hereafter the clerk shall gather his hire meat, and then the parish shall help to drink him a cost of ale in the Church house" (Somers. Rec. Soc. iv. 223).

After the Reformation his duties were otherwise defined. He was to go unto the Church, says Burnet, "and in a book register the name and sum of every man that giveth anything to the poor, and the same shall intable and hang up in the Church, to the intent the poor, having knowledge thereby, by whose charity and alms they be relieved, may pray for the increase and prosperity of the same." More than that, they were allowed occasionally to read the service, bury the dead, and church the women, though these powers were soon withdrawn. In 1590 there was a curious proposal on the part of some one to obtain a patent to appoint all the Parish Clerks either in London or in the kingdom generally, but Archbishop Whitgift protested on the ground that "the clerk is paid by the parishioners, and a stranger cannot well be obtruded on them."

III.

MANORIAL USAGES.

THERE is little local history for a long time after the Conquest beyond a few personal notices of the Bramshott family and of the Rectors of the parish, to some of which reference has been already made. In the year 1280, however, the long series of Court Rolls begins, by the help of which and other documents we can ascertain the names and circumstances of the tenantry with but few breaks to the present time.

We have seen that commonly in every Manor, except some that were insignificant in size, there was evidence of an early agricultural community, which occupied the lands on co-operative principles. The yardlands (virgates), or half yardlands of the members, of varying size in different places, but usually about thirty acres, more or less, were parcelled out in strips into which three large fields were subdivided, two of which were sown with corn of different kinds, while

the third lay fallow. No one could cultivate his strips without the concurrence of the rest, for there were no separate enclosures, and each field must be treated at the same time in the same way. Each member contributed according to his holding to provide the oxen for the common plough team ; there were fixed times when the cattle might be let into the stables to graze after the harvest had been reaped. There were grasslands and woodland often, in which each had his share, and there was the waste or common, with various rights of turf and pasture. Such a system seems to go back to very early times, but apparently before the Norman Conquest a superior or lord was superposed upon it, with various claims upon the labour of the members, and a title to the ownership of the whole estate. He had his own demesne or separate land, distinguished from the rest, with meadows often and woodland which he held apart. How this complicated system, with its many anomalies in practice, came into existence it is very hard to say ; there has been much ingenious discussion on the subject. Some, following Mr. Seebohm, see in it the gradual rise of a peasant population out of the entirely servile condition of the labourers on a Roman *villa* ; others believe in the subjection in varying measure of free Saxons, brought about in course of time by the incidents of dearth and debt and fiscal pressure. The latter view seems

to agree best with the facts. Some feudal elements existed certainly before the Conquest, but its general result was to dispossess the chief Saxon freeholders in Hampshire, to depress the condition of the labourers, and to strengthen the position of the new lord, or his principal sub-tenants, and tighten their hold on the actual tillers of the soil. In the *Domesday* Survey there are therefore different classes in the Manor ; the tenant in chief, who held under the king, and who often speedily enfeoffed another in his turn ; sometimes one or two freeholders, and cultivators, called *villani*, when they occupied a yardland or the half ; and a few cottagers with an acre or two of land, termed *bordarii* or *cottarii.* The 'villans' were bondmen in some sense ; they held their land under stringent conditions of working a definite number of days in the lord's demesne. The customs of each Manor prescribed minutely the kind of work which each had to do at the different seasons of the year ; the sowing and the ploughing, the reaping and dung-spreading and the carting which man or animal must undertake. There were often other payments to be made in kind in lieu of rent, so many chickens or offerings of various sorts. They could not give up their land or quit their home without permission, and there were further irksome restrictions on their freedom. The Rector's glebe, which was given at a later time, possibly consisted here,

as it did certainly in some other places, of strips of land intermingled with the rest, and the loss of the twenty acres, referred to in the last chapter, may perhaps have taken place when the old system was changed, and a continuous glebe replaced these scattered fragments. Below the villans there was occasionally an inferior class of serfs (*servi*), but none were to be found in any of the manors of Bramshott, excepting on the Sussex side at Harting.

The early writers speak emphatically of the distinction. "Villeins," says *The Mirror of Justice*, of the time of Edward I. or II., "are not serfs. Serfs can acquire nothing but for the use of their lords. They do not know in the evening what service they shall do in the morning." The labour to be exacted of the villan by way of rent was, on the other hand, rigidly prescribed by custom. Later writers clearly recognised that the status and obligations of the tenants were matters of customary law, but they did not see that there were elements of the system which were probably of earlier origin than the feudal superstructure, that the curious interlacing of the holdings and the mutual obligations of the labourers were not dictated by the convenience of the lord, but must have had an independent source. Thus John Perkins in his 'profitable book' quite ignores this aspect of the agricultural relations. "It is to know that the beginning of a Manor was when

the king gave a thousand acres of land or more or less, unto one of his subjects to hold of him and his heirs, which tenure is knight service at the least, and the donee did perhaps build a mansion house upon parcel of the same land, and of twenty acres, parcel of that which remained, or of a greater or lesser parcel, before the statute of *Quia Emptores*, did enfeoff a stranger to hold of him and his heirs, as of the same mansion house, to plow ten acres of arable ground, parcel of that which remained in his possession, and did enfeoff another of another parcel thereof to go with him to war against the Scots, and so in continuance of time he made a Manor. In continuance of time, for time is indeed the mother or rather the nurse of Manor, and custom, which is the strength of the copyholder's title, requires time to mature; whence it seems that a Manor was not created instantaneously."

If we turn now to the Court Rolls, it must be owned that at first sight they are most unattractive reading. They were drawn up in crabbed Latin, full of abbreviations and in characters somewhat difficult to decipher, and after the lapse of centuries the parchment is often discoloured and the writing faded. The entries state in the very briefest terms the various kinds of business transacted in the Courts. The first and most important, covering most space, was concerned with the rights of the lord

as landowner and the obligations of the tenants, and in much detail the fines which he could claim for trespasses on his demesne, and the privileges which he granted for a price. *Court Baron* was the technical term in later centuries for such formal business done at stated times, close to some Saint's Day or High Festival which it was easy to remember, as distinguished from the *Courts Leet*, which had to do with civil pleas or the petty misdemeanours that did not specially affect the lord. The distinction does not appear, however, in early days. The first of our local rolls is simply headed thus : " Court of Brambelsete held on the morrow of the festival of the Apostles Simon and Jude, in the eighth year of the reign of King Edward." On the day appointed, tenants of the Manor, bond and free, appeared, and later theory maintained that no manor could exist without freeholders. " There can be no Court Baron without freeholders," said Coke ; " there may be a customary court of copyholders." The Survey at the Conquest includes, however, no free tenants at the time at Bramshott, though there had been two, but villans only and cottagers. The term ' villans ' may have been used loosely, or bondmen gained more freedom, or fees had been granted to free tenants in the course of the two centuries that had passed. Certainly there was a considerable increase in the population, as the many entries show. When a sort

of jury had been formed out of the tenants present, and the homage, as it was called, sworn in, notice was taken of the absent, whose tenure carried with it the duty of serving as *suitors* in the Court; some who had valid reasons were excused, and others fined, as being "at the mercy of the lord." This form was long kept up, even when land had passed into possession of important personages or rich corporations. Thus at a Court of Ludshot the Dean of Chichester, the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and a sometime Mayor of London were named publicly as defaulters. At Basingstoke in 1502 still more august suitors will not appear, and the lord of Basing, the Bishop of Winchester, the Prior of St. Swithins, and the President of Magdalen College are reported to be absent. The homage then made its presentments of such breaches of manorial rights as, to their knowledge, had occurred. The law-books of a later date contain a lengthy summary of possible offences, which the Steward was supposed to read out in the hearing of the suitors, to remind them of their duty. It was sometimes sharply pressed upon them, or as our Rolls put it, "the whole homage is declared to be at the mercy of the lord" because it had failed to report some patent trespass, as for example "one cartload of wood carried away from the coppice by William le Foghel." The first and longest set of entries commonly consist of trespasses in the demesne.

The tenants' cattle seem always to be straying into the lord's pasture, for the best meadow land was his, and permanent banks and hedges had hardly yet been made. Intrusive pigs are munching the acorns in his wood or the stubble in his cornfields, or sheep have strayed into his oats, or the calves are breaking through into the wheat. Fines of a few hens at first, then of a few pence were entered on the margin of the roll, and levied doubtless by the Steward, and the total, however insignificant it may seem to us, formed an essential part of the profit of the Manor.

The homage presented without respect of persons. The Rector was fined because eighty of his sheep one day were in the oats at Loseley, a spot so called from the sheepfold (hlose, A. S.) which had been there of old, as in other places, notably near Guildford, where the name is also found. Another Rector was so defiant of good manners as to break open the 'pinfold' at Ludshot where his horse was pounded when found straying, and was fined four pence for his breach of law. The daring cottager who cut down a fir tree on the waste without permission, or carried off more turf and heather, or sent more animals to graze than was his right, was promptly reported, and his fine was entered. Outsiders from adjacent manors whose tenancy was close upon the waste, like the tenants of Pitfold, had to purchase the license to make use of it, or were fined in cases of intrusion.

Encroachments (*purpresturæ*) or enclosures of the common were always matter for presentment. They figure little on the Court rolls of Bramshott until the 17th century, when they are oftener mentioned, probably because the tenants had at first ample ground, and population was very sparse. In some estates like Crondal we can trace the steps by which large quantities of forest land were brought into cultivation; tenants seem to have been often encouraged to enclose, but rent was always charged upon the land they had reclaimed, and formed a valuable source of income (note 6).

A frequent matter of complaint and fine was the neglect of the tenant to do his duty by the land and homestead which he held on strict conditions, or to pay for it by services in kind. "William the Miller has deteriorated his tenement," "ditches, houses and garden of Peter Atte Valghe are neglected—let them be repaired under fine of twenty shillings"—these and the like come frequently. The tenant had to do his own repairs, that is, and was fined or turned out if he failed after due warning; he had to keep up the hatches through which the deer might else stray from the forest to the fields; he had to scour the ditches and fence in his homestead that his cattle might not damage growing crops. He was tempted at times to cut down the trees upon his land, but the penalty soon followed. But far more burdensome was

the constantly recurring obligation to work on the demesne when his own land perhaps was needing all his care. The amount of the forced labour was rigidly defined, and felt to be most grievous at the critical seasons of the year. There is evidence on all sides of perfunctory and reluctant labour, of exacting stewards and discontented tenants. "The homage present and acknowledge that they ought to do the mowing of the lord's meadow, and lift and spread and carry off the hay at the charges of the tenants without any pay." The confession came no doubt after a sharp reminder. "The whole homage is commanded to discharge the due and accustomed works under pain of half a mark." Again, "the whole homage present that if they do not harrow for Lent sowing each is to give six pence." A few years later "the whole homage is fined forty pence for contempt shown to the lord, for that they refused unjustly the lord's table and forbade to reap his corn." At certain times food was to be provided for the harvesters, and the fare at Bramshott was not good enough, it seems ; the bread was mouldy or the beer was sour, and they made that an excuse for striking work.

Another obligation often resented and evaded was the enforced use of the manorial mill. "Roger atte Doune and Agnes atte Eldemulle are 'in mercy' and fined two pence each for refusing to grind at the

lord's mill" is a typical entry of the rolls. The charges there perhaps seemed heavy (note 7); the miller may have paid a high royalty upon his profits; in mediæval literature he appears often as a bold fellow, rough of speech and not overweighted with nice scruples. Perhaps the small mills, such as that from which Conford (Quernford) took its name, were more popular and cheaper, as indeed they were elsewhere. At St. Albans the potent Abbot once made a raid upon his tenants and carried off by force the millstones which they used to the contempt of his own lordly mill, and actually paved his parlour with the spoils. They had long memories, however, and when their chance came in the riots of Wat Tyler, they burst into the Abbot's lodging, and took away again in triumph the memorials of his vindictive pride.

Another common grievance was the rule that the tenant should drive his sheep at night into the lord's fold, that his ground might be enriched with the manure.

Poaching was a serious offence which had attractions everywhere, and the fish ponds and woods of Bramshott were the scene of many an unlicensed enterprise, reported in the Courts, though the delinquents were not always caught. Public opinion was not strongly moved against it; we read indeed at times that priests and deacons, feeling the need of some

excitement, organized a hunt at night in the park and preserves of their own Bishop; even staid writers of law-books spoke with a certain tenderness of such illicit sport. Thus in the *Court Baron*, which was written to be a sort of common-place book of the Steward's charges to the Jury, and of forms for use in Court, we read the following imaginary dialogue for cases of the kind: "Walter of the Moor, thou art attached to answer in this Court wherefore by night and against the lord's peace thou didst enter the preserve of the lord, and didst carry off at thy will divers manner of fish." . . . "Sir, for God's sake, do not take it ill of me if I tell thee the truth, how I went the other evening along the bank of the pond and looked at the fish which were playing in the water, so beautiful and so bright, and for the great desire that I had for a tench I laid me down at the bank, and just with my hands quite simply and without any other device I caught that tench and carried it off, and now I will tell thee the cause of my covetousness and desire; my dear wife had lain abed a full month, and she could never eat or drink anything to her liking, and for the great desire which she had to eat a tench, I went to the bank of the pond to take just one, and that never other fish by the pond did I take, ready am I to do whatever thou orderest me." William le Queynte perhaps was not so pathetic in his story when he "fished with nets

in the lord's pond, and put himself in favour by a fine of two shillings."

The following entry in 1333 reminds us of the restrictions on the personal freedom of many of the villagers: "The homage present that no daughter of any bondman (*nativus*) of this manor has been married without the lord's license, nor any son gone out of the lordship." The questions were asked regularly, but the answers often were not negative. As free labour became more highly paid, and the attractions of more varied work and of the life in towns were greater, many slipped away from the old homes in the country; some sent their *chevage* or head-money for a while, their pound of wax or two ploughshares or two horse shoes, for all these are specified in our rolls; many were never heard of more, except when their names were read out in the Court, and the next-of-kin was bidden to bring them back.

The *merchet*, or marriage fee, paid not to the parson, but the lord, on the marriage of any 'nieve' or bondsman's daughter, might be raised if she went beyond the bounds; indeed as much as twenty shillings was demanded of Roger le Queynte in 1340; at any rate the license was in theory required.

A further obligation is not illustrated in these rolls, as there was little chance perhaps of schooling here, but it often appears elsewhere, and may seem a curious contrast to our social rules. If a villan

wished to have his son sent to school, or taught a little Latin, he paid a fine for the permission granted. It meant that his services would be lost henceforth to the estate. The hope was to start him in the clerical career, after tuition by some friendly priest, or in some convent near, with a view at least to a low grade in Holy Orders (note 8).

We can hardly fail to notice that the Manor Court had a very real importance as the chief part of the fiscal machinery of a landowner's estate. In one place for example thirty-four out of fifty-one tenants were fined in a single year, and at Bramshott the numbers were also relatively large.

The importance of the Roll consisted also in the fact that it registered the transfer of land in case of death or other causes. We have in 1333 the entry, "Simon atte Eldemulle, who held of the lord one messuage and one ferthynland (one quarter of the yardland) has closed his last day, by whose death the lord has one ox for heriot valued at seven shillings; and at this court came Agnes, wife of the aforesaid Simon, and gave to the lord for having entry therein eight shillings, to hold according to the custom of the Manor, and did fealty, and was pledged to keep the tenement in as good state as when she received it by view of the whole homage." Again in 1380, "Richard Schertere and Joan his wife surrendered the tenement atte Doune to behoof of John Chalvecroft

to hold by services due." The terms *heriot* and *relief*, the second of which was implied if not expressed in the first passage, were words of purely feudal usage. The heriot originated in the practice of returning to the military chief the horse and armour furnished to his follower, and was still used when all thought of personal service in the field had passed away. It then consisted in the horse or cow which was seized at the tenant's death. At Ludshot early in the 14th century it sunk to "a hen and two pence because the deceased had no animal at all." The relief consisted of the dues which the heirs of a tenant had to pay when they were admitted to the holding, and it was extended to the obligations of a new tenant, not an heir, in case of sale. While 'homage' was paid by the free tenant on his knees to the lord in person, fealty was done standing before the steward, with the right hand on a copy of the Gospels, saying "Hear you my lord's bailiff and suitors that I shall be faithful to you and to my lord King, and shall hold my fealty to you for the land which I hold of you, and truly shall do the customs and services that I ought to do to you at the terms assigned. So help me God and all his saints." (*Fitzherbert Surveyenge*, c. 18). Sometimes of course there were no heirs, and the land fell in to enlarge the lord's demesne. "Roger atte haache who held a messuage and a virgate died, the heriot is one horse valued six

shillings and eight pence, no one claims to enter, so the land remains an escheat in the lord's hands."

So far the functions of the Court appear to have been exercised mainly in the interest of the tenant in chief, or the family who held the fee under him. There were other powers which belonged in later days more strictly to a Court Leet, which being used in the service of the whole group made it in some sense a self-governing community. It is not clear at what time and in what way these little insignificant meetings of a few villagers, guided only by the land-owner or his bailiff, gained the right to decide disputes in which pecuniary interests were involved, and to punish breaches of the peace. Authorities are not agreed upon this subject, and the evidence is very meagre. Thus we have cases such as now would come before a County Court Judge. "Peter of Hundesham presents himself as plaintiff against William the Cooper in plea of debt incurred for six ells of cloth of russet." "John Wyte had a law day with sixth hand (was to come on a fixed day with five witnesses to swear for him) against John Peys who made a claim concerning thirty-three ells of cloth of russet worth forty shillings and two pence. John Peys came not to prosecute, therefore to levy of him forty shillings with damage of twenty shillings to the use of John Wyte." Cases of slander are reported. "Robert the Smith defamed William the

Tailor by falsely charging with theft; fined three pence." "Robert Maydes complained of Roger atte Lye for defamation. Let inquiry be made. The homage found that Roger defamed him unjustly." The damages were forty shillings and the costs were taxed at two. Again, "William Dounere complained of W. Thechere for that his sheep trampled down the plaintiff's corn and his dog had worried his hogs. Thechere acknowledged it and prayed that the damages should be taxed." Such cases were not however very common. Petty misdemeanours were more frequent. People would sometimes quarrel and break each other's heads; women would scold and fall to fisticuffs; malicious neighbours pulled up the flood-gates of the mill and drained its pond "to grievous damage of the lord," and probably to spite the miller; swarms of bees were stolen at Wakener's Wells; watercourses were blocked and flooded a neighbour's land; these and the like were summarily dealt with by a court which knew the facts and the character of all concerned. We read even in later days that the Manorial Court proposed to fine the lord because the stocks were not kept in due repair for the punishment of evil-doers. And elsewhere a pillory and cucking stool had to be found for the use of larger populations.

In some manors further powers were assumed to guard against adulteration and unwholesome food.

We find no traces here, however, of the assize of bread and beer. The first was doubtless all home-made. The second, in days when tea and coffee were unknown, was a primary necessity of daily life. In the Household Book of the Earl Percy, where rules were given for the meals of all of every degree, the flagon of beer is to be set for the table of the noble children as for every servant of the household, and Churchwardens provided "a gallon of beer for their Bishop" when he came to inspect their Church. Though inns are not heard of till a much later date at Bramshott, the humble beer-house, with its bush to serve as sign, and its brewster to supply the thirsty caller, must have been provided very soon. The ale-tasters appointed by the homage, men of "sad countenance" and much experience of indifferent beer, are not here expressly named, and no "Betty atte toune" is presented for false measure and sorry stuff, but doubtless then, as in Langland's pictures in *Piers Plowman*, there was a motley gathering of noisy folks with sometimes a lazy rogue who called himself a hermit, forgathering with the cobbler and "the clerk of the church."

The roads and bridges were matter of inquiry at the Courts. In Ludshott all the tenants are called on to repair the way called 'Longstudde' (?), and the broken bridge called 'Hobbes' (Springpond). In another place the homage boldly makes presentment

that "the lord has a piece of the highway opposite the tenement called 'Clerkes' which is not sufficiently repaired, and he is ordered to make it good before the next Court under a penalty of eleven pence." For sometimes the tenants turn the tables on the Squire. They use to the full the powers put into their hands, the tradition of their freedom, call on their superior to restrict the number of his cattle on the common, as his steward does for them, and they fine him even for neglect. So at Manydown the lord was condemned in his own Court for blocking up a bridle-path, was fined forty pence, and ordered to remove the obstruction without delay. At Bramshott, in 1647, when the people freely urged their rights, the Court insisted that John Hooke, the lord, should bring the river back to its old course by the highroad from which he and his tenant had diverted it, under a fine of forty shillings. They had no scruple, of course, in their complaints about the lords of neighbouring manors. The Commoners of Ludshott are aggrieved when Henry lord of Bramshott dams up the stream and makes two lakes at Wakener's Wells at the expense of their own common, as they urge. The head of the same family cut down some oak trees at Grigg's Green, probably by mistake, and Rogate Bohunt was up in arms and made a solemn protest in its Court. There was also heartburning about the hedges of a close

WAKENER'S WELLS. [To face p. 56.

which it was the duty by old custom of the men of Bramshott to keep in good repair.

There were officials in the Manor whose duties were specially defined. The Reeve or bailiff (*præpositus*) was elected by the tenants and bound perforce to serve. There are many signs of the reluctance to take office. Some, in the strong language of the rolls, were rebels, and obstinately refused to act. One bought a reprieve for seven shillings. Another, who seems opulent for his degree, gained his discharge for life by the payment of three oxen, one cow and a heifer. It was no wonder if they shirked the work. To keep in memory all the labour rents, and varying obligation of every villan on the estate, to see that the oxen were brought up in due course for the plough teams, to interpose with tact and firmness in the natural disputes between the holders of the long strips in the great fields where it was hard to keep the boundaries clear, to warn off trespassers upon the waste, to smooth the friction in the machinery of a most complicated system—this called for unusual temper and discretion. Of course the villagers would complain of partial treatment, said he made a profit of his place, abused him in the Churchyard—as he complains in the book called the *Court Baron*—before the whole Parish for collecting his own hay by means of labour services, and ploughing his own land by

ploughs 'booned' from the vill, abusing his authority in questions about labour services commuted for money rents. There is a long account of the Reeve's duties in old English as spoken before the Conquest, and to reach the standard there implied would need sleepless activity and care, though a woman might be Reeve in later days. He was to be constantly on the alert, always thinking of the owner's interests, neglecting nothing "even to a mouse trap." For neglect he had to pay: "By default of servants the lord's close is damaged to the value of two shillings, with which the Reeve is charged." For all this he had half a yardland extra, and a privilege or two besides.

There was a *Reepreeve* (messor) also who had special superintendence over harvest work, and more responsibilities than others, for he too was at times presented for neglect of the duties incumbent on his office: thus in 1337 "the homage present that the lord's corn was badly kept in harvest by neglect of John of Rogate the Reepreeve to the damage of one quarter of wheat, four bushels of oats and two of rye."

The name of Tithingman (*decennarius*) carries us back to early days before or independent of the Constitution of the Manor, as we know it, to the system of *frank pledge*, by which in every little group each man was made responsible for the conduct of the rest. The inhabitants of every vill were divided

into tens, such being probably at first about the average number in each, and the tithing man was at the head of his own tithing, and represented it as the chief pledge in the Hundred Court. Elected formally by the homage, and as such named in the Court Roll, he was the link of connexion between the Manor and the larger machinery of County business and public justice. The office was associated, however, with incidents of base tenure, and thus Sir Thomas Camoys of Trotton, in 1369, surrendered certain lands at Prior's Dene because they were charged with the duties of a tithing man and other 'rustic' obligations (Hervey, *Hist. Colmer*, 108).

This ancient system of the tithing, the very origin of which is so obscure, has curiously survived in a shadowy way all the administrative changes of a thousand years, cuts across parochial divisions, and still accounts for some anomalies in the present. The land tax, for example, itself a strangely archaic charge, is collected for portions of the Parish of Bramshott at Rogate and at Selborne as well as at the centre, because the tithings of Rogate Bohunt and Oakhanger run up into the parish, much to the disadvantage of the tithe owner, who has been frequently overcharged by the collectors, themselves ignorant of the ancient practice and its meaning.

If we now turn from these questions of mutual relations and forms of customary law, and try to

picture to ourselves the actual life of country folks in bygone days, we must first rid our minds of the associations of such high-sounding terms as 'lord' and 'homage,' or of such descriptions as that of the old writer Aubrey, "The lords of manours did eate in their great-gothicque halls, at the high tables or oreile (oriels), the folk at the sidetables. The meat was served up by watch-words. Jacks are but an invention of the other day; the poor boys did turn the spits, and licked the dripping pans, and grew to be huge lusty knaves. Here in the halls were the Mummings, and great number of old Christmas playes performed. In great houses were lords of misrule during the twelve days after Christmas." The writer had before his mind a great baronial mansion. The ordinary manor house of early days would seem to us but a poor comfortless abode, with one large room warmed by a brazier, the smoke of which found its way out through the louvre of the roof, and a small parlour at the side for the women of the family. The boards which formed the tables for meal times could be taken off the trestles and set against the walls, where arms and hunting implements hung from wooden pegs. The floor was strewn with straw or rushes on which the servants of the household slept at night, and a dormitory above was set apart for the family itself.

The uncleanly custom of the rush-strewn floor lasted on long in English houses, and provoked the strongly worded criticism of Erasmus. "The floors are in general laid with a white clay, and are covered with rushes, occasionally removed, but so imperfectly that the bottom layer is left undisturbed sometimes for twenty years, harbouring expectorations, vomitings, the leakage of dogs and men, ale droppings, scraps of fish, and other abominations not fit to be mentioned."

Sometimes the manor house took the form of a quadrangle. One of the fourteenth century, which is still standing, had a central court some twenty feet by twelve, into which all the windows looked, hall, parlour, kitchen, porter's lodge, and stables forming the four sides, with one long dormitory upstairs. But at the date at which our Court Rolls begin the manor house was probably of wood. Edward I. built himself a hunting lodge in the parish, as we shall see in a later chapter, and the materials, of which a detailed account is given, were mainly of wood. One tenement, now Colliers', was long called the Stonehouse, as an exception to the general rule.

The homes of the villagers at first were miserable hovels, with mud floors only, and without chimneys or windows. A shutter only opened to let in the light, and could be closed at night. It did not cost much to build them. Queen's College, Oxford, had

one made for two labourers in 1306, and the actual bill for the materials and labour can be read. It amounted only to twenty shillings, the carpenter's work costing only five and eightpence. Of course, some stabling was required to house the oxen which the occupiers of yardlands contributed to the common plough team, and the pigs and sheep, which they could send out to pasture on the waste, or on the stubble when the harvests had been gathered in. Gradually the more substantial tenants improved their dwellings as their status rose. But early literature, when it does, however rarely, dwell upon the actual condition of the humbler villagers, while the incidents of bondage still survived, present us with no idyllic picture. For life before the Conquest we have the dialogue of Aelfric: "'What sayest thou, ploughman, how dost thou do thy work?' 'O, my lord, how do I work? I go out at daybreak, driving the oxen to field, and I yoke them to the plough. Nor is it ever so hard winter that I dare loiter at home, for fear of my lord, but the oxen yoked, and the ploughshare and halter fastened to the plough, every day must I plough a full acre or more.' 'Hast thou any comrade?' 'I have a boy driving the oxen with an iron goad, who also is hoarse with cold and shouting.' 'What more doest thou in the day?' 'Verily, then, I do more. I must fill the bin of the oxen with hay and water

them, and carry out the dung. Ha! hard work is it, hard work is it, because I am not free.'" The author of *Piers Plowman's Crede*, in the fourteenth century, writing with intimate knowledge of the facts of country life, describes the ploughman at his work:

> His hod (hood) was full of holes, and his heer (hair) oute
> With his knopped schon (shoes), clouted full thicke;
> His ton (toes) toteden out, as he the londe treddede.

His wife walked beside him

> Barfote on the bare ijs (ice) that the blod follwede.

The young children lay close by

> And alle thei songen o (one) songe 'that sorwe was to heren;
> Thei crieden alle o cry' a carefull note.

With homes so dreary and so bare of comfort, much work to be done with little sense of personal interest or prospect of improvement, while the conditions of the interlacing strips in the common fields made their industry as unremunerative as could be well conceived, the study of rural life in Mediæval England has moved the tender-hearted to speak in pathetic language of the dulness and hopelessness of the peasant's lot. Certainly those who were shut in between the great Weald of Sussex and the wide-reaching forest land to the West and North heard and saw little of what stirred the outer world with the excitements of politics and war. There was no

lack, indeed, of travellers always on the road. Kings, bishops, and great nobles were constantly moving to and fro, to eat up with their numerous train the produce of their various Manors. But they passed commonly at some distance to the East or West, from Guildford to Farnham or to Midhurst, and what we now know as the London Road had no importance in those days. Portsmouth was but a mere village, and only a bridle track led over Hindhead. One cause only brought a royal visitor to Bramshott, when he came to hunt for a day or two in Wolmer Forest. But life, perhaps, was not much sadder, because their thoughts moved within a narrower range than now. The Church festivals brought them many holidays, in which they had, no doubt, their social pleasures; and the village merry-makings, about which the steward of the manor had no need to make his entry in his rolls. There were Church ales, also, on the patron saint's day, when the whole parish met and had good cheer, and the proceeds of the entertainment went to buy something which might seem to give more dignity or brightness to devotion in the church. There were scot ales, when the tenants resorted to the manor house, and paid their quota, and drank the squire's beer. There were quaint customs, too, at some of them which may well have caused some mirth. At one place, we read, there might be three such ales. On Satur-

day the married men and youths came after dinner, and were served three times with ale. On Sunday husbands and wives came with their pennies and were entertained together. On Monday young men might drink for nothing standing, but must pay if they sat down. No doubt, sometimes the drinking and the fooling was excessive, and a stern Archbishop had perhaps cause to forbid his clergy to countenance the enjoyment with their presence. Those who had money and time to spare, or the excuse of needful marketing, might trudge or ride to Winchester and Weyhill at fair time, and hear the news from all the country side, and find no lack of themes to entertain their gossips with at home for weeks to come. There were lights as well as shadows in their lives, which we can hardly estimate aright.

We have seen that the *Domesday* Survey made no mention of free tenants at the time at Bramshott, but the term villan which is used included possibly villans both by blood and tenure, the latter of whom, though of free origin, may have accepted grants of lands by commending themselves to the patronage of a Superior, and undertaking labour services by way of rent. When the Court Rolls begin, two centuries later, there is no clear evidence of free tenure ; the number of the villagers has more than doubled, and most of them are bondmen, or at any rate they held by servile tenure. There is no trace, however, of

any tallages or personal dues to which villans by blood were liable beyond the chevage and the merchet which have been already mentioned. The yardlands, or half yardlands, which they cultivated for themselves, were held securely by them, "according to the custom of the manor," so long as the labour services were rendered, and the tenements were kept in due repair. The first condition was unwillingly observed in many cases, and the wilful neglect of the latter seems to have been frequent. In the second case the lands were resumed after due warning, and other tenants were admitted. Early in the fourteenth century thirty tenants held on such conditions.

Soon afterwards the terrible pestilence, known now as the Black Death, carried off probably from one-third to one-half of the population of the land. It seems to have passed lightly over this part of Hampshire, and has left no traces of its visitation in the rolls. Elsewhere many of the customary lands fell in, as whole families died out. But after this it is clear that there was here too a growing impatience to be quit of the restraints upon their freedom. In court after court defaulters' names were entered, a few compounded for license to be absent, more were quite lost sight of. Elsewhere the labour services had been long before commuted, often for fixed payments, but at Bramshott, for the first time as far as we are told, in

1367, a messuage was devised for life at a yearly rent in lieu of the customary services, but "to revert afterwards to its old condition." The saving clause is curious, and perhaps rare, and shows that the conservative instinct here was strong. But the change was marked in a few years. There is no sign indeed of any local ferment while the peasant insurrection of 1381 was going on; but in 1396, when a list of the tenantry was drawn up, about half of them were called free, eighteen in number paying money rents which amounted to £6 13s. 0d. Much of the land they farmed appears to have been the old demesne land, largely increased by the escheats and forfeitures of absconding or deceased villagers, and was held "at the lord's will" (*ad voluntatem domini*) with no security of tenure. It had ceased to be profitable for the owner to cultivate, himself, now that it was hard to insist on the forced labour, and costly to use other. The rest of the land was held "according to the custom of the manor," by what became known as copyhold tenure, as the transfers at death or purchase were carried out in Court, and the copy of the roll, instead of formal lease, was the title or evidence of their legal right. After this the old status of bondage passed out of sight, at least the documentary notices soon disappear. The fines for trespasses on the demesne lands, once so frequent, are now scarcely noticed, for it is mainly in the hand

of farmers. The Reeve ceases to be an important personage, and the profits of the manor consist of small fixed rents and of uncertain heriots and fines on relief. Here we may leave for the present the agricultural conditions of the Manor, and return to its history at a later date, when the old family, whose rolls we have been examining, had passed away.

But before we leave those times it may be of interest to watch the growth of Surnames, as we see it going on before our eyes in this little corner of the county. At first they are very few in number. The ruling family—like the first Rector known to us—had none, but called itself only after the estate to which it came, we know not whence. Many others did the same, the Norman 'de' which they inserted between the Christian and local names showing the race from which they came or with which they were most familiar. Humbler folks who belonged to an old English line were distinguished from their fellows often by some natural features of the spot in which they lived. Thus Robert at the North Down, near what is now called Downlands, was known as Robert atte doune, and the name for his descendants was shortened into Downer. The Hatches were the gates of egress into the forest land, and the name is still retained at Foley Hatch (note 9). The cottager who lived beside one was called Roger atte Haache, and in late generations the family was

known as Hatch or Hack. The 'toun' was the primitive enclosure, and a cottage near it caused the inmate to be known as the William 'atte toune,' or in after days as Townman or Townsend. So the 'lee' or meadow, or the old mill, or the hill or heath, gave rise to the surnames of 'atte lee' and 'atte eldemille,' and 'atte hill' and 'atte hethe,' and in course of time the 'atte' was dropped altogether, or shortened as in the names of At-field or At-hill. Pinfold, from the village pound, Weller from the well, and Denyer from the woodland glen or dean, and Croucher from the wayside cross at the meeting of the ways, are all natural designations from like familiar features of country life. A few places in the Manor had distinctive names already, such as Doddewelle and Poppehalle, both near Iwschote (Hewshott), and Dounewater, on the other side, and some who lived near were soon called after these. As they lie apart we may take the personal names formed from them as evidence that from the first some tenements of the manor were very widely scattered, indeed there is no trace of any village. A few soon came in from other places and were known as John of Rogate (Rothergate) or of Bettesworth (Bechworth), and the like. In other cases the employment suggested the distinctive title. Soutar (cobbler), Heller (Tiler), Thechere (thatcher), Fewtrell (huntsman), (note 10), require little ex-

planation when the meaning of the word is understood. There are nicknames which curiously stuck not to the persons only for whom they were first meant, but to their children also. Thomas 'le fre' was, in fact, a bondman, though so called, perhaps, in jest. Robert 'le queynte' (*comptus*) was probably a local dandy, and Short and Smart are clear enough. Fairminer and Enticknap, both names of the parish, and two of the hardest to explain, appeared later on the scene. The former is written Verminer at first in the Parish Registers, and he was the ratcatcher of his day, not the 'miner' who came from the 'far' north, as has been fancied (*Hist. of Cowdrey*). The latter, which has long seemed the most mysterious in its origin, is, perhaps, only Entingham, a place name, as in course of time pronounced by Hampshire mouths. A Roger de Entingham was witness to a deed at Basingstoke in 1250. Another of the same surname was sub-prior of Saint Swithuns in 1311 (note 11).

IV.

THE ROYAL FORESTS.

The waste of the manors of Bramshott has been spoken of as forest land, in the sense that it lay outside the borders of the cultivated ground of the early settlements, in accordance with the strict meaning of the term. But there was also within and to the west of the parish a wide tract which was Royal Forest in a special sense, and of this something must be said, as it influenced in many ways the interests and security of those who lived near beside it. The part which especially concerned the inhabitants of Bramshott was called Wolmer Forest, or, as in the old Saxon charters, Wulfmaeres gemaere, or Uulfamere or Wluemere, a name which like the Wulvardesbregge near Midhurst, and the Wolvesey of Winchester, points to the wolves which were once numerous there. Close by was Alice Holt, or as it appears in early documents Alciesholt, Aishold, Asshesholt and Axesholt; and in the records of per-

ambulations and the foresters' accounts the two are constantly treated of together.

Though of nothing like the size of the New Forest, nor connected with any such striking event as the death of William Rufus, they too have had their history, and have been the scene of many a royal visit, and we must add, of many an act of lawless violence and of legalised oppression. It was a favourite resort of some of our early rulers. Traditions tell that King John resided often at the verge of Wolmer Forest, at Wardleham, on a hill called from him King John's Hill. Edward I. was often there, and the ranger of it was Adam de Gurdon, the outlaw whom Edward met in single combat at the pass near Alton, and conquered first and then generously pardoned. The King built for himself there a hunting lodge, to which reference was made above, the accounts of which have been preserved in the Pipe Rolls, as they were sent in by Adam for outlay "on the buildings in the King's forest of Wlfmere in the County of Southampton." There was an upper chamber of seventy-two feet long by twenty-two wide, with two chimneys in it—an unusual feature—with a small chapel and two wardrobes. The masonry cost eleven pounds in workmen's wages, and six pounds thirteen shillings for the materials. There were six windows of glass provided for it. There was also a hall wholly of

wood, plastered over and painted, with plain wooden shutters instead of windows, and a kitchen near it. The whole was roofed with wooden shingles (*cendulæ*) six thousand three hundred in number. There was besides a little garden for the queen's use, the cost of which was nearly half a mark. The last feature points to comparatively frequent visits for something more perhaps than hunting only. It was built in 1285, and the King spent seven days there in early August the same year. From the itineraries of Edward's movements, which are probably imperfect, as they can be traced only by the documents signed by him, or accounts made out at various places on the route, he was there also in 1290, 1294, 1299 and 1302. It has been confidently said above that the lodge in question was in Bramshott, and not merely in the adjoining forest. This is partly an inference from the fact that several of the deeds signed by him on these visits are addressed from Brembleshete, but what is still more conclusive, that a formal inquiry was held at Brembleshute in 1294, in a matter in which the King's rights were concerned, before Henry de Staunton, who was judge itinerant in 1302, and a chief justice of the King's Bench afterwards. The jury summoned were men of local weight, but none of the lords of the neighbouring manors were among them, as they had no direct cognisance of the facts in question. We may infer that the king's own lodge and not a manor

house was used for the inquiry. It concerned the Chapel of Bosham, in Sussex, which as a royal foundation had been held to be exempt from ordinary jurisdiction, but Henry I. had made over the rights of Visitation to the Bishop of Exeter, and this, after some interval, was confirmed, as against the claims of the See of Chichester. Edward I. was especially tenacious of his rights in regard to royal chapels, and probably had the matter sifted while he was on a visit to Bramshott, near enough to Bosham for witnesses to attend the Court. The decision was not final, and thirty years afterwards an unedifying dispute resulted, in which one of the rival Bishops excommunicated the other for insisting on what he thought his rights. The King's accounts on these visits to his hunting lodge show a sum of four shillings daily given in alms, and on one occasion as much as four pounds spent in beer and wine at Petersfield and Midhurst.

Besides this residence of Edward I. we have mention of another house which was both in Bramshott and in Wolmer Forest. In the year 1363 a certain Nicolas de Venuz died. He came of a family which had estates at Worldham more than a hundred years before, and had appeared often as donors or witnesses in the Selborne deeds. The seal of one of them bore the inscription, "the king's marshall." On reference to *Domesday* and *Testa de Nevill* it appears

that a Geoffrey who came from Venoix, near Caen, held several manors by the serjeanty of marshalship in the king's court (*debuit portare unam virgam marescalciæ per totum annum in hospitio domini regis*). In Normandy he was called maréchal de Venoix, and Robert, his heir, claimed under Henry I. to hold the office jointly with William de Hastinges. A descendant, John de Venuz, in 1304 succeeded Adam de Gurdon in the office of Chief Forester of Wolmer and Alice Holt, which had been held by his family before. On the death of Nicolas return was made in the usual form (*inquisitio post mortem*) that he held a certain 'Folle' in Wolmer forest and in the parish of Brembleshute as chief forester of the king in that district. The same Folle is referred to in another document as owned by the Venuz family together with 60 acres in the parish by service as forester (*Abbrev. rotul*, p. 280).

The entries are of interest, as they guide us to the early meaning of the name 'folle' or 'foley,' which Ducange explains with good reason as a 'pleasance in the woods' or a 'leafy covert' (*folia*) (note 12). It would be highly appropriate in such a spot, and it is quite possible that it was somewhere near the site of Lynchborough Lodge, the ranger's house at the extreme corner of the parish. There was a 'Folle,' not probably in the same neighbourhood, which John Weston of Chiltelee in 1398 covenanted to surrender

to Thomas Brocas, as described in the Brocas deeds. Another estate, which is close to the Forest, referred to as "certain lands called Folley" owned by John Nore in the 16th century bore since the name of Foley. This has unfortunately been changed in recent days to Fowley, a form unknown, it is believed, in early times, which makes it look like some modern poultry-farm, such as have sprung up in such numbers in the neighbourhood (note 13). It does not follow of course that, because the word had this early meaning of a cottage in the wood, it has been used always in that sense in the course of ages. Many a 'Folly' may be found far from such surroundings, which have been thought of only as memorials of local ridicule and capricious fancy.

As early as the *Domesday* record we find the traces of the important place which hunting filled in the interests of Norman nobles. Waleran the huntsman held 9 manors in Hampshire, as well as 15 in Wiltshire and 9 in Dorset, by virtue of his office, and Saffron Walrond still preserves his name.

The Royal Forests had been often, as is well known, the subject of heartburning and contention between the Sovereign and the people. Attempts were made by the Crown from time to time to add large tracts of land to those where their rights were undisputed. Thus not only the New Forest was made in Hampshire, but Henry II. afforested nearly

the whole of Surrey, and though most of it was soon surrendered, again and again the claims of the Crown to part of it were reasserted. Constitutional as was the wise policy of Edward I., he showed much reluctance in confirming the charters of the Forest, which had been demanded long before, with the Great Charter, to arrest arbitrary action, and in allowing the perambulations which were to define more strictly the limits of the Forests. He was not merely, as a mighty hunter, desirous to enjoy without check the pleasures of the chase. There was far more than sport at stake. The Forests were under a special law, administered in their own Courts, with quite a little army of officials, whose whole duty it was to maintain and to apply it. The names were quite distinct from those of ordinary office-bearers and tribunals. There was the Woodmote, which met every forty days, and the Swainmote, which met three times a year, "to which all the freeholders in the Forest do owe suit and service." The Chief Justice of the Forest—one for either side the Trent —was a Justice in Eyre; there were verderers, foresters, regarders, whose names are clear enough, and agisters who had to regulate the numbers of the cattle which might be sent to graze, together with the times allowed for entry. The officials were the king's retainers, who looked only to his service, and strengthened his authority in case of need. The

fines and rents and tolls levied by them or the Courts went directly to the royal treasure. In days when subjects held their purse-strings tightly, and made much ado in granting subsidies, and were slow sometimes to do their military service, or in lieu of it to pay their scutage, there were manifest advantages in keeping the Crown rights in the Forests unimpaired. On the other hand the subjects' grievances were very real. The Charter of the Forest itself admitted that there had been hardships and oppression. The foresters had done arbitrary acts and borne false witness; had leagued together to work upon men's fears; and abused their local influence by keeping alehouses or by the sale of drink at unauthorised Scotales, as they were called. A statute of Edward III. recited that several people had been 'undone' by the chief warders of the Forest.

The restrictions imposed by forest law were many. It was not always easy with the best intentions to avoid offence. For example, a freeman who had wood or land within the forest might not keep goats or sheep there, as "they would taint the pasture and the wild beasts would not depasture there." A man with woods or hedgerows near the King's woods might not put swine in them till leave was given. He might not assart (grub) his own lands in the forest without license, and if he ventured to neglect

the law, the lands so cleared might be seized till he had redeemed them by payment of the fine. There was a 'fence month,' as it was called, when no one was allowed to wander in the woods lest the deer should be disquieted; the verderers had power to seize anyone whom they suspected. In the neighbourhood of the forest a man might not hunt on his own land by night, nor on a Sunday, nor during the fence month, nor more than three days in the week, nor with any but his own servants, nor within forty days before and after any royal hunt of which notice had been given. It has been proposed of late to make Wolmer a sanctuary for wild creatures. Manwood's quaint derivation of forest, as 'for rest' of the wild beasts, seems to find support in such enactments. If any wounded deer were found a strict inquiry was to be made by four of the nearest villages. The flesh of the deer when slain was to be sent to a spittlehouse (almshouse or hospital), "if not sweet enough or fit to be eaten by the better sort of people." These were annoyances to which men of all degrees were subject, whether their estates or farms were large or small. There was another which was both cruel and vexatious. All mastiffs in or near the forest were by law to be expeditated, that is, three claws of the forefeet were to be cut off by setting the feet on a block and striking the claws off with a chisel. They were maimed in this way

that they might not give chase to the deer, while little dogs, from whom there was no danger, might be left unharmed. A few lords, indeed, and heads of religious houses were specially exempted from this humiliating rule, but there was stringent investigation in each case. Thus in 1269 inquiry was made at Winchester before Roger de Clifford "by the oath of the verderers of Alryeshott and Wulvermere, and of Robert de Chiltelay and eleven others, regarders and agisters, approved and lawful men of the same forests, whether William de Kernet, lord of Colmere, ought to be quit, as he and his ancestors up to the present have stood quit of the expeditation of their dogs, by reason of their lands, which are within the bounds of the said forests, or not." The verdict was given in his favour. So by warrant of Richard, Duke of York, Justice itinerant of the King's Forests on this side Trent, to the Keeper of the Forest of Wolmer and Alisholt, the prior and convent of Selborne were exempted in 1452 from all jurisdiction of the Foresters over their lands in accordance with charters granted by Henry III., which they exhibited before Richard Foster, the deputy of the saide Duke of Aulton (*Selborne Charters*, i. 113). We have noticed hitherto the dangers only of inadvertent breach of rule. There was of course risk of wilful and deliberate transgression, and with this the law dealt stringently.

Not to speak of the penalties of early date, when the life of a deer counted as much almost as a man's, by the Statute of Westminster of 1275 all trespassers in parks and all suspected persons were to be fined, and if they could not pay, imprisoned for three years, and in default of surety, banished from the realm. By a statute of 1293 trespassers wandering within a park or warren, intending to do damage therein, who should refuse to stand when called upon by foresters or parkers, might be slain with impunity.

After the excitement of the peasants' insurrection grave warning was thought needful to secure the game, and a statute of 1389 speaks of the "artificers, labourers, grooms, who kept dogs and on holy days when good Christian people be at church hearing divine service, go hunting in parks, and sometimes under such colour they make conspiracies to rise and disobey their allegiance. . . . Therefore, no dog shall be kept for hunting under pain of one year of prison." Again in 1389 "any artificer or labourer who hath not lands of forty shillings a year, or priest whose living is not worth ten pounds a year, and keeps a dog to hunt, or ferrets, nets, cords, or other engines to take deer, hare, conies, shall be convicted for a year." Another act of 1485 spoke of the great and heinous rebellions, insurrections, riots, murders, and other inconveniences which had grown out of poaching, and the offence was made felony.

This was no empty threat, for we read in the Court Rolls of Rogate Bohunt, "At a Court held Nov. 16, in the year of the reign of Henry VII., it was alleged that Henry Colpas, who held of the lord one tenement and one yardland with other appurtenances, called East Langlee, is a trespasser in Wulmer Forest, therefore by command of the lord, the said tenement and yardland, with appurtenances, have been seized into the hands of the lord; thereupon to the Court came Thomas Hardwyne, by command of the lord, and received of the lord the said tenement, yardland and appurtenances, to hold to himself and his heirs according to the custom of the manor by rent and service. He gives to the lord half a mark, which the lord forgives." One of the Forest Courts had probably sentenced Henry Colpas to other penalties already, which besides entailed the loss of his yardland. The severities of the old law seem, however, to have been disused, and fines accepted in their stead.

In the fiscal interest attempt was made by the lawyers of Charles I. to revive the old pretensions of the Crown, and Noy, the Attorney General, claimed at Guildford in 1632 the whole bailiwick of Surrey, as in the reign of Henry II. This, if successful, would have brought all the range of Hindhead to the North of Bramshott within the royal forest. But protests were very general and the decision was overthrown in

1641. The only local trace we find at this period of any pushing spirit of the guardians of the forest is an entry in the Bohunt rolls that the keeper of Wolmer had lopped an oak at Quernford (Conford), but he was brought to see his error, and "gave a quart of sack to propitiate the lord." The old forms however were retained; the special officials were appointed; and vexatious interferences with agricultural neighbours still continued. The doggerel of much later date, which Manwood quotes as the oath taken by all the inhabitants of the forests, implies that the outward shew of special management was jealously preserved.

> You shall true liegeman be
> Unto the King's majestie,
> Unto the beasts of the forest you shall no hurt do,
> Nor to anything that doth belong thereunto;
> The offences of others you shall not conceal,
> But to the utmost of your power you shall them reveal;
> All these things you shall see done,
> So help you God at His holy Doom.

Separate accounts were kept, which are still in the Record Office, but the Chief Warden of Wolmer and of Alice Holt was not appointed for any skill in forestry. Duke Humphry and Richard Duke of York had held the office. Much later Mrs. Ruperta Howe had the place for five-and-forty years.

The woods were not a source of much income to the Crown, for generally in the administration of the

Royal Forests the gravest abuses have existed, and a special inquiry fifty years ago revealed in Hampshire gross mismanagement and fraud on the part of the officials.

It was there that Gilbert White spent many years in patient study of the habits of the creatures of the woods. His readers will remember that he notes that the red deer of Wolmer always were distinct from the fallow deer of Alice Holt, and close together as the two districts were, the two races never intermingled.

As the word Chase often occurs now as a local designation here, though mostly of recent use, it may be well to state that it was strictly distinguished from a forest. The spot so called was under no special set of laws, had no verderers, foresters, regarders or agisters, nor Swainmote, and trespassers in a chase could be punished in the common courts. 'Purlieus' there might have been on the North side of the Parish, if the attempt to afforest Surrey had continued long. The name is explained to be a *pur lieu*, one that is exempt from forest law, and might be applied to any which had been disafforested under legal sanctions, though in appearance it might be the same.

Here then we may leave the subject. Though there is not much about it to be found in local sources, we can see that the Chief Foresters took a leading place among the families that settled round about, and were called in often to give their sanction

to deeds of landed transfer, while the natural features of the district and its uses left their traces in our local surnames, such as 'Silvester,' 'Hack,' Fewtrell, Forster (forester), Woodward, Woodrow (wood-reeve), and Hunt, and Warner (warrener).

There is also a familiar local name which points to the herds of deer that roamed in past ages in these forests. The bilberry which grew profusely on the slopes of Hindhead, as in neighbouring districts, was popularly called the hart-berry (O.E. heorot-berry) from the creatures of the forest that browsed on it, and children still speak of going 'a herting,' and many talk of 'herts' without a thought of the early meaning of the name.

V.

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

Mention has been occasionally made of the Religious Houses in the neighbourhood, and it may be well to say now something more regarding them, for though there were none actually in the Parish, several were in course of time connected with it by landed or other interests, and more were not far off and must have been brought into some relations with the people. They were besides so marked an element in the social life of the middle ages that they claim a place in every attempt to bring it vividly before our thoughts. They belonged to various different orders, such as had been founded, some of them from personal or local causes, but more often from discontent at spreading laxity, to frame a stricter rule of life, and to rise nearer to the conventual ideal. For the aim of monasticism was to provide a shelter and a home for those who, weary of the business and the pleasures of the world, hoped to break all the ties

which bound them to it, and find salvation, as they fondly trusted, in the routine of a peaceful and devotional life. Kings and nobles looked with favour on the ascetic fervour of the early monks, and gave freely of their lands and substance, hoping in return for the spiritual efficacy of their intercessions. The early Saxon monasteries had mainly fallen before the destructive fury of the Danes, but with the Norman Conquest came a great revival of monastic zeal and a new era of endowments. For two or three centuries the movement went on rapidly, and fresh houses started up on every side ; very many of the people were withdrawn from common industry, and a large proportion of the national resources was in the hands of monks and nuns, given in free alms, as it was called, to be exempt from public charges. The rapid increase of these corporations was a danger to the State, and laws of Mortmain were passed to restrict their further growth.

Curiously enough long after dangers of that kind had passed away the law of Mortmain had effect in Bramshott, and in the first half of the nineteenth century, part of the estate bequeathed by a Rector for the maintenance of Parish Schools, was in consequence of that law diverted from the donor's object (note 14).

Selborne Priory was the first religious society which gained here any landed property. Several gifts of

ground in Ludshot Manor are recorded among its charters. One near Wakener's Well is still called Priors; another was at the 'Rudeherne,' or the corner of the cross, probably near Passfield. We may suppose that a wayside cross stood there in early days (*Selborne Charters*, i. 22).

The Priory founded by Peter de la Roche, Bishop of Winchester, in 1233, was of the Augustinian Rule, and received many favours from the landowners around, and among others from the Arundels, who gave them what little they had in Ludshot. They would gladly have had more, but the Bramshott family, though on good terms with them, and quite ready to ride over and lend their signatures and seals, were not minded to do more. Indeed they did not long deserve it. In the fourteenth century the house was in disorder, its property had been mismanaged, even squandered, and the habits of its inmates were of a questionable kind. There is no evidence of open vice, but they did not live according to their Rule; they hunted and strolled about the country indulging in easy-going ways, with scant show of fervour of devotion. There was scandal in the neighbourhood of course, and little prospect that their straitened means would find relief from further benefactions of the pious; their buildings were in bad repair, and they could no longer pay their way. William of Wykeham, as their Visitor and Bishop,

interposed. More than once he gave them good advice and more substantial help. But there was little real improvement, and at last another Bishop, finding their case hopeless and scarcely any brethren left, closed the House finally and made over their lands to his new College at Oxford, St. Mary Magdalene.

There was another religious society at Selborne, the catastrophe of whose sudden downfall must have given a shock to the friends and neighbours almost within view at Bramshott. This was the military order of the Templars, or, as they styled themselves, the soldiery of the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, who had long held estates close by, and occupied at last the Manor House, where Adam de Gurdon, the chief forester, had lived. They did not hold it long, however, for though they had done good service in the cause of the Crusades, and there was no real evidence of any guilt, the powers of Church and State combined to crush them, at the bidding of an unscrupulous French king and a mean and selfish Pope. The Order was dissolved in 1312, but the name of 'Temple' has clung ever since to the buildings on the Manor where the members of the brotherhood commanded a wide view over the forest lands below, and the uplands which rise above Bramshott to the north.

Sherborne Priory, of which Monk Sherborne near

Basingstoke retains the memory, has been spoken of in an earlier chapter in connexion with the dispute about the tithes of Ludshot. The claims of the Priory were commuted for an annual charge of a mark, which was still binding on the benefice in the time of Wykeham, as appears from an entry in his Register, but when both the advowson and the estates of the Priory fell into the same hands it was not thought needful to maintain the charge. For Sherborne, which was a mere offshoot or cell of a Norman house, shared the same fate as other alien Priories. The long war between England and France was fatal to them all. The English people were naturally impatient at the thought that their enemies of France profited so much by the contributions which were sent across the channel from the Priories to the mother Houses. Time after time the payments were perforce suspended, and other measures taken to their prejudice. At last they were nearly all suppressed, and their estates put at the disposal of the Crown. Those of Sherborne were given first to Eton College by Henry VI., and then transferred to the Hospital of "God's House" in Southampton by Edward IV., and as the administration of this had been granted by Edward III. to the Queen's College, Oxford, the lands of the Priory went with it.

Boxgrave Priory, near Chichester, had a small estate in Bramshott. This was a Benedictine house

founded by Robert de Haia, a kinsman of the Conqueror, and afterwards made by him dependent on the Norman abbey, de l'Essaye, of which he was also patron. Unlike most of the alien priories it was in 1340 made an independent English monastery. Sir Luke de Ponynges of the St. John family had left instructions in his will in 1376 that his body should be buried in Boxgrave, and £40 be given with it to the Priory. He changed his mind upon his death-bed, and was actually buried at Warneford, where the family mansion stood. The Prior did not insist on the interment, being satisfied perhaps with the bequest. This points to a close connexion between the Priory and the St. John family, the lords of Ludshot, and probably accounts for the land or rent-charge which the convent held in Bramshott Parish. Early in the 16th century it fell into disorder and needed stringent injunctions from the Bishop of the diocese. It had little time to act on them before it was forcibly suppressed. The site was given to Lord De la Warr of Halnaker (or Halfnaked) who had pleaded in its behalf as follows in a letter to Cromwell: "Pleasythe you to be advertysed, that I have perfyte word, that the Acte is past, that all houses of Relygyon that is under 300 markys is geven to the King's hands, both the land and the goodes, and that by the saide Acte his Highness may, by his letters patent under his grete seale, gyve lysense to as many

as shall stand with his gracy's pleasure, to contynewe unsubpressyd. And so hyt ys that I have a poure house called Boxgrave, very nere to my powr house called Halnaker, whereof I am founder, and there lyeth many of my Auncystorys, and also my wyffy's mother, and for by cause hyt ys of my foundacion, and that my paryshe churche ys under the roofe of the churche of the saide monastery, and I have a powr chappell to be buryed yn: wherefor yf hyt myght stande with the kynge's grace's pleasure, for the powr servyce that I have doyn his Highness to forbere the subpressyng of the same, or else to translate hyt into a College of such nombre as the landes will bere. And yf hyt may not stand so with his grace's pleasure, then I will lowly beseeche hys grace to have the preferment of the farme, with all such other things as the Prior in hys tyme had for the provysyon of hys house. Whereffor I wyll beseech you that I may have yr lawffull favor, good wyll, and helpe therein.—Your owen assuryd, Thomas La Warre."

Lord De la Warr held the lordship of Halnaker by right of his wife Elizabeth Bonville, whose family were descended from the Poynings of Warneford and Ludshot. The St. John family had in early days given many benefactions to the Priory.

There was another little House which, though itself some miles away, was closely connected with

the Manor which runs up from Sussex some distance into Bramshott, and figures largely in its rolls. A small community of Praemonstratensian Canons, so called from Premonstré, near Laon, in the North of France, where the Order was first established by special warning from the Virgin Mother, as it was believed, was settled at Dureford by Henry de Hoese (Hussey), lord of Harting, in the reign of Henry II. His family and kindly neighbours gave further help and frequent gifts. The monks were industrious, and reclaimed waste ground about them, and these encroachments—as manorial law regarded them—were condoned, if not encouraged. They were honoured by a royal visitor, for Edward II. lodged there on his way from Petworth to Porchester, but they noted in their accounts that the cost of entertaining him was ten pounds and more, which they thought a heavy burden. A few years later a band of robbers spoiled them of their goods and stock and caused them much distress. At the Suppression of the Monasteries their income was valued at £108 13s. 9d., but the visitor who was sent to make inquiry thought very meanly of the House. "Please it your goodnes to understonde," wrote Richard Layton to Cromwell, "that on Friday at nyght I came into Sussex, to an Abbey called Durforde. Hit might be better called Dyrt-forde, the porriste Abbey that I have sene, as this berer the

abbot thereof, can tell, fur in det and gret dekey." Its apparent poverty was explained afterwards not quite to the abbot's credit. He seems to have been aware that the visit was impending, and the blow soon to fall, and to have made away with such of the farm stock as could be sold. A Justice of the King's Bench was sent down in 1541 to hold inquiry, and many witnesses deposed as to the sale of sheep and kine and other stock. It was certified to the King that "goods and catalls were embeselled and conveyed by the Abbot." It is of interest to note that the Justice who was thus brought upon the scene, Sir Edmund Mervyn, to whom the site and lands of the Abbey were afterwards conveyed, married a daughter of the lord of Bramshott, and was the father of a future Rector, and was buried in the Parish Church. The accident of the inquiry determined probably his choice of home. And as the witnesses were all drawn from the immediate neighbourhood, no doubt the matter was followed with keen interest here and was the subject of much parochial gossip. The Manors of Bramshott and of Dureford met, indeed, at the river bed between Hammer and Lynchmere, and the boundary was matter of dispute, as recorded in a Court Roll of 1605.

Close by, on the Sussex borders, there was the little monastery of Shulbred, or Silbrede, in Lynchmere, or Wolinchmere, which must have been well known,

and had a little property in the adjoining parish. The number of its inmates was quite small, five only being there at the time of its suppression, and its income at the last is only put at £79 15s. 6d. The Bishop of Chichester seems to have been minded to anticipate the action of the Crown, and seized the possessions of the Priory in 1534, but the Earl of Northumberland, whose mansion at Petworth was not far away, came forward to protect the monks, as patron of the convent by hereditary right. A letter of Layton the Commissioner to Cromwell puts the matter in a light which was not to the credit either of the Bishop or the monks. "The Bishop of Chichester put oute all the Canons about ten yeres sens, and deposed the Prior and purposed to have suppressed the House for ther wyckedness. He took of the House three hundred shepe, sixty oxen, kyen and swyn. He pulled down a chapell made with pillars of marbull. He pullyd down with the fratre (refectory) much of the church. He converted to his own use the tyles upon the houses, the leyde under the eaves, and pypes. All the pavement of the fratre and ther chalesses with all the household furniture, leaving only bare walls, and kepyde the londs thus to himself, and took of them a goodly In in the village, of the value of forty shillings goode rent, which the Earl of Northumberland caused him to put back, because he was founder."

The Manor of Rogate Bohunt, carved out of Harting at an unknown date, is said to have belonged to the Cistercian Abbey of Bruerne, in Oxfordshire, which was founded in 1147 by Nicolas Basset, and reckoned kings and great nobles among its early benefactors (note 15). When the religious houses were suppressed the Manor was granted to Henry Earl of Arundel, and was alienated in the reign of Elizabeth by John Lord Lumley and Lady Maltravers to Thomas Bettesworth, a yeoman of Trotton, for a term of 10,000 years.

These were all unimportant Houses, little known beyond their own immediate surroundings; nothing like the great Abbey of Waverley, which took precedence among the Cistercians of England, was honoured by the frequent visits of personages of high rank, and had in its house a chronicler whose writings add somewhat of value to our knowledge of the times. But Waverley was some distance on the way to Farnham, and its influence was not much felt perhaps in Hampshire. Of the smaller monasteries we may say that such as lasted on till the fifteenth century had by that time outlived the memories of their devotional zeal and high repute. They did not profess to be of any use to the society around them, unless it might be by the examples of unworldliness and peaceful calm. If their standard ceased to be a high one, and failed to impress the lookers-on with

much respect, or stir them to a higher mood, then their continuance seemed to be a needless waste of human industry and national resources. In the days of their Suppression there is no evidence, in this district, of much sympathy or regret. The peasants who came forward willingly in such numbers to say what they knew about the so-called 'embezzlements' at Dureford, could not have loved the Abbey very much, for it might else have seemed to them to have some right to save a little from the spoilers' hands. When the lord of Petworth interfered for Shulbred he had his family interests to defend. Indeed, though we cannot trust the commissioners of Cromwell or credit many of their tales, which often read like lying excuses for rapacious greed, yet, on the other hand, there are many pictures drawn by other hands which show the little convents in a most unfavourable light.

The reports of the Bishop's visitations on the Sussex side in 1518, as in the cases both of Boxgrave and of Shulbred, are no pleasant reading. It has been urged, indeed, that the episcopal injunctions sent at this time to many of the convents were merely general directions, and had little local reference. But at Boxgrave certainly they point to a lowered standard of monastic life, and the supposed need of drastic treatment. It is implied that there was too much "feasting and other gluttonies," that in

the dormitories there was slight regard for common decencies, though there were useless servants kept, and too much foppishness in dress. The Prior was bidden to dispose of no property by deed without the sanction of the convent, to allow only women who were beyond suspicion to have access to the house, not to waste his time in archery as was his wont, and to eschew dice and cards and hawks. The injunctions end with the grave warning: "It is ascertained that the honour of the Order, its rules, customs, and ceremonies have long passed into disuse among you, not without your grave peril, my lord Prior. We enjoin you to be diligent and watchful."

In one after another, when the veil is lifted for awhile, we see the signs of misrule, disorganization, and decay. Their suppression is no matter for regret; but it is not possible to defend the unscrupulous agents, nor the plunder and waste of funds intended for a higher use than to be squandered among the courtiers of King Henry.

VI.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGES.

In 1460 a jury empannelled for formal inquiry at the death of John Bramshott reported that he owned no lands or tenements in the County of Southampton. An old order was then passing rapidly away, and its place was to be taken by a new era alike in the rural and political conditions of society. Before going on to state what can be ascertained about the new families that took the leading part, it may be well briefly to review the changes that were taking place, and to dwell at more length upon some economic details and social features that have not yet been adequately treated.

We have seen that the old system of villenage was dying out, though slowly in some places, for Fitzherbert in the sixteenth century complains of it as a disgrace even in his day, and an innkeeper at Basingstoke, who was also a substantial yeoman, was released from the status of bondage by letters

patent of Henry VIII. in 1523. In Ludshot Manor a villan was in 1405 fined a quarter of a mark for "not working for his lord four days in autumn as he ought," but in the Manor of Bramshott there is no entry of the kind so late, and tenements like that of Downlands, which were once held in villenage, were before this period rented at a money payment. The commutation of the labour services had indeed begun long before, and though often unwillingly conceded, and arrested for a time by the scarcity of labour following the great loss of life from the 'Black Death,' it was hastened by the grave warnings of the insurrections of the peasants in 1381.

The old agrarian partnerships were also breaking up. When the lord leased his demesne lands to a variety of tenants, as he seems to have done here, he encouraged the growth of quite a different system. It is doubtful, indeed, if the co-operative arrangement which was described above as being the normal one throughout the county, was ever carried out to a large extent in Bramshott. At least the outlying homesteads, whose permanent names can be traced far back in our records, and the absence of any traces of a central village, point to a different state of things. It is clear from the old Saxon charters, where many gifts of land in various parts are accompanied with lengthy descriptions of the boundaries, that there were from the first separate

estates, both great and small. When the system did exist in its entirety, it must have often caused a most vexatious waste of time and labour. "William of Benteworth," for example, "had ninety-seven acres in the great fields of Basingstoke, and it takes eight octavo pages to describe the position of the several strips." We have no estimate of the time and temper lost in walking to and fro and carrying the produce from them all. It was difficult to introduce improvements, such as better drainage, when the plans adopted might be wrecked by the neglect or wilfulness of any of the other tenants. Moreover, for other reasons the old system was wearing itself out. The fertility of the land was being exhausted by continuous corn crops, broken only by fallowing and with inadequate manure. The enforced use of the lord's sheepfold (*jus faldae*), which has been already noticed, impoverished the tenants' land, while it enriched his own. There was no green food for the cattle beyond the grazing on the commons, and no swedes or mangold wurzel for the winter months to make it possible for stall-fed animals to be kept in any number, and so help to enrich the ground. Scanty returns account for the low rent of arable land, which the economic records of the period fully shew. The Rector's glebe had been estimated as worth sixpence an acre; land close to it was now let at fourpence—

the rent demanded by the peasants in 1381—as in the case of the two adjoining farms of Clerkesland and Downlands. A little later still the rent of Downlands is only forty pence—for what was at least half a yardland. John atte Leope (Liphook) for Calvecroft pays but one and sixpence. The rent of such land would seem to be little, if any, more than a single day's wages of a labourer, for an artisan received about sixpence a day, and the agricultural labourer fourpence, or in harvest time sixpence.

Where there was little permanent grass land it had been usually appropriated by the lord ; where there was more, as at Bramshott in the valley of the Wey, the water meadows may have been cut up into lots each year, as we know they were sometimes, and then reserved for hay, to be used for the plough oxen, and in hard times for the sheep. In the neighbouring Manors of Chiltelee and Ludshot, as we see in *Domesday*, swine were an important element in local husbandry, and the right of pannage (food from the fruit of oaks and beeches) was carefully regarded. The early rolls of those Manors have not been preserved, and we are not told of the common swine-herd who was elsewhere, as at Basingstoke in 1389, duly sworn to collect from door to door the pigs of the community, to take care of them while they were feeding in the day, and bring them back at night. There he was to have one half-penny each Quarter for

each pig, or for two very little ones, and a dinner from each tenant besides. He was bound to make amends for all the damage done by the pigs if they ran wild. Tenants agreed that vagrant swine should be impounded, and three half-pence paid for each. Strict rules were made as to the times and the conditions of feeding them in the stubble (Millard and Baigent, *Basingstoke*, 214). The name of Howard is thought to be only Hog-warden—a variety of swineherd or seward; just as Bacon is for Hogsflesh, an ancient and familiar name.

Even in the early days sheep-breeding was largely practised in the central Manor. The "eighty sheep of the Rector trespassing in the lord's oats" in 1340, at a time when the benefice was worth but £7 6s. 8d. annually, enable us to understand the frequent entries of the bondmen fined because their sheep, in numbers varying from fifty to fifteen, were breaking bounds and doing damage to the oats or wheat. The Cistercian Order, more than any other, did good service to English husbandry in early times, by the care it took to improve the breed and maintain the fineness of the wool, which found a ready market in Flanders and elsewhere, where it was worked up by skilful hands, and sent back to us in its finished state. For England then exported raw materials to manufactories in other lands. The monks at Waverley—who were Cistercians—may have had in this

respect some local influence for good. It has been observed that successful sheep-breeding on a large scale implies a general peacefulness and security in the social conditions of the land, and in this rather than in any natural superiorities, lay the advantages of the English sheep-master over the husbandmen in other countries, which were swept so often by marauding armies. Such peace the North-East corner of Hampshire enjoyed to a high degree. There is no trace of any tramp of armies through it from the Conquest to the seventeenth century. The War of the Roses left it unmolested, though elsewhere we read of homesteads so ravaged by the combatants that rents could not be paid or repairs done, and copyholds had to be surrendered. It does not follow of course that there was always complete security for life and substance. The robber bands who broke the King's peace at Dureford, and brought the poor monks to penury, were not the only evil-doers. The Statute of Westminster of 1285 may well have been required for roads over Hindhead or near Wolmer, for near the latter seven merchants from foreign parts were murdered in 1298. "It is commanded that highways leading from one market town to another shall be enlarged, where bushes, woods or dykes be, so that there be neither dyke, tree, nor bush, whereby a man may lurk to do hurt, within two hundred feet of the one side and two hundred feet of the other, so that

this Statute shall not extend unto Ashes nor unto great trees."

Before that the robbery near Alton, described by Matthew Paris, had clearly shewn that there were lawless spirits abroad. Merchants of Brabant had been robbed of 200 marks by highwaymen whom they were sure they could identify. The culprits were arrested, but their accomplices were many, and two juries in succession set them free. The King, afraid of reprisals from the Duke of Brabant, stormed and threatened, and the Bishop excommunicated the offenders ; but only after menaces of stringent penalties was information given which led to the conviction of many men of note in Alton, and some even of the King's own household. More than 60 suffered for their crime. The forest lands around gave convenient cover for the brigands.

The King of Cyprus again was robbed and stripped on the highway with his whole retinue, and the chronicle of Dunstable tells of whole villages often plundered by bands of robbers. There is another side, then, to the idyllic pictures which we have of the pleasant village scenes where the sheep were washed in the mill pond, and a piper was paid by the Squire of the mansion to play to the sheep-shearers all the day long.

There were, however, certain habits of Mediaeval Society which made for peace besides the cheap and

prompt adjustment of disputes in the Manorial Courts which have been discussed above. Such was the institution of the Loveday, which was a well-recognised procedure in order to arrive at an amicable understanding on some question at issue. Thus the accounts of a bailiff of Bramshott in the fourteenth century contain the entry: "On expenses for holding a day of love at London with Sir John de Benestede forty two shillings and eight pence,"—much of which was spent probably on good cheer. "And after that they held a day of love at Benestede, and the expenses there were nothing, because they adjourned to Tistede." The truce between Yorkists and Lancastrians in 1458 was called a loveday.

A reference to arbitration, too, averted often the violence that might have followed some disputes. Thus, "Joan, widow of Sir T. Brooke, obstructed several rights-of-way in making a park. Sir William Bonville took the part of the aggrieved neighbours. The dispute was referred to Nicolas Wysebeach, Abbot of Newenham, who had the paths reopened, and decided that the two litigants should ride a mile and a half together, and exchange a kiss of peace" (Roberts' *Social Hist.*, 464).

Quarrels were often made up also on a christening day, especially when it was a solemn festival, and the terms of peace were settled in the church, for others

beside the parents of the child. Many such cases are recorded on the Sussex side.

To return to agricultural conditions, it should be noted that there was another form of cultivation which had probably ceased to exist at this time in most parts, though there is ample evidence that it was widespread before. A field at Firgrove in the Manor of Ludshot bears the name of 'the Vineyard' in the Tithe Map; there is another of twelve acres in Harting. Old maps and inventories would shew the like in many of the parishes around. It has been thought indeed that the term was loosely used, and referred only to the cyder which was made of the apple trees which grew there, and certainly a butt of cyder was drunk at the funeral feast of William of Brembleschete in 1309, while it must be owned that grapes do not always ripen out of doors even in the Southern Counties, and have little flavour and sweetness. But there can be no doubt that wine was actually made from grapes quite commonly in England. Strange as it may seem to us, complaints were made that successive Constables of the Tower had encroached on land in East Smithfield in order to make a vineyard there. We should look for it as little as for the stag from Alice Holt which was found one day in St. Paul's Churchyard. The vineyards of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Teynham and Northflete were in great repute, and the Bishop of

Hereford had one also at Ledbury. The Glastonbury Rolls contain frequent reference to the labour services in the Abbey vineyards which were exacted from the tenants, and the keeper of the grounds of Woodstock Castle went into much detail on the same subject in his accounts. It was probably sweetened with honey, and spices may have been added to give it flavour. But the union of Guienne to the possessions of the Crown brought the generous wines of Bordeaux to England in increasing quantities, and the home manufacture steadily declined. Thus Harrison, in a curious passage of his description of Elizabethan England, writes: "I muse not a little wherefore the planting of vines should be neglected. That this liquor might have grown in the Iland heretofore the chartes that Probus the Emperor gave equallie to us, the Galles, and Spain is one sufficient testimonie. And that it did grow here the old notes of tithes for wine that yet remain in the accompts of some parsons and vicars in Kent . . . also the enclosed parcels in almost every abbeie yet called the vineyardes may be a notable witnesse. The ile of Elie also was in the first time of the Normans called 'le ile des vignes.' And good record appeareth that the bishop then had yearlie three or foure tunne at the least given him *nomine decimae*, beside whatsoever oversumme of the liquor did accrue to him by leases and other escheats. Wherefore our soil is not to be

blamed, as though our nights were so exceeding short that the moone, who is ladie of moisture, chief ripener of the liquor, cannot in any wise shine long enough upon the same; a verie meere toie and fable right worthie to be suppressed, because experience convinceth the upholders thereof even in the Rhenish wines."

Among the changes early in this century we must include the increase in the free work of landless labourers. While the old manorial system was in force, all the inhabitants had their yardland or half yardland, except a few cottagers, who had only an acre or two of curtilage and garden. But when in the last half of the fourteenth century so many villagers were giving up their holdings on all sides, and stealing off, as our Court Rolls shew, year by year, they went to swell the ranks of the free labourers elsewhere. They did so for two reasons probably, first, because the land was yearly less productive, and the struggle to get a living on it harder; and secondly, because the wages of labour were increasing, in spite of all that could be done by statutes of labour and legal maxima to keep them down. Indeed, the rise went on steadily, and in the next century was so marked that a learned economist has called it "the golden age of the English labourer," and calculates that in 1495 the necessary wants of a whole family could be supplied by the work of fifteen weeks (J.

T. Rogers' *Three Centuries*, p. 336). In spite of all the misery and losses caused by the exhausting struggle with France and the Wars of the Roses, it seems to have been a prosperous time in many ways, as marked by the development of trade and by the stately buildings reared in such numbers by rich merchants, especially by those who profited by the progress of the cloth trade. Thus Fortescue, a contemporary witness, wrote, "England surpasses all other countries in fertility. There are fields and pastures, enclosed by hedges and ditches, planted with trees, so as to be a defence to herds of sheep and cattle against the storms and heat. . . . The people of that country are not weighted by heavy labour, but breathe freely, like those patriarchs who chose rather to feed cattle than oppress themselves with the anxieties of husbandry. Moreover, the country is so dotted and filled with landowners, that hardly a hamlet in it is without knight, esquire, or franklin, who is not enriched with good property."

The Paston letters shew that it was possible at that time for the son of a plain husbandman to rise to high estate. Clement Paston had a few score acres, much of it bond land, with a small mill beside the river. "Other livelode nor manors had he none there, nor in any other place." He sent his son to school, borrowing sometimes the money to pay for his boy's schooling; thence the lad was sent to

London, where, with an uncle's help, he was entered in an Inn of Court, became a barrister, serjeant-at-law and judge, known as 'the good judge' among the people. He was knighted, and left at his death two daughters married into old county families of Norfolk.

There is another side, however, to the picture which we may illustrate by a bit of local information.

In 1436 instructions were given by Commissioners for the County of Southampton to certain collectors of a Subsidy of a fifteenth which had been granted on condition that an allowance of four thousand pounds should be made "in discharge of the pore Towns, Citees and Burghs, desolate, wasted or destruyed, or over gretly empoverished or elles to the said Taxe gretly charged." Of the sum assigned to Hampshire according to directions given to the collectors Bramshott had forty pence allowed, Ludshot two shillings and Chiltelee sixteen pence. It may seem that the Commissioners spread the allowance or aid grant very generally to save themselves the trouble of ascertaining facts, but the first Statute which empowered the allowance to be made dwells upon the undoubted fact of decaying towns such as Andover and Alresford, which were to be relieved. Of course the change in the value of money must be taken into account, but it gives no flattering picture of the prosperity of the lord and tenants of Chiltelee

to be told that sixteen pence was a valuable consideration to them. The decay in the county towns is not explained by the failure of any local industry, but seems to have been caused by agricultural depression, largely due to the exhaustion of the land. The farmers and employers of labour may have suffered, as in recent days, while there was a notable rise in daily wages. That at least began some time before, and women had ceased, we are told, to work much in the fields. If the wages given continued without a break for the whole year they would have certainly commanded much more substantial food in the form of meat and bread and beer than in the following ages, but it is not clear that so much regular employment long prevailed, and it is certain that there were many interruptions. A Statute of Henry IV. enacted "Labourers shall not take any hire for the holy days, nor for the eves of feasts, when they do no labour but till the hour of noon, but only for the half day."

Advantage also might be taken by the employer of the cheapness of corn in favourable years, for he was allowed by law to pay either in money or in corn, and the labourer suffered therefore in the times of dearth. Such hard times had been very frequent throughout the Middle Ages. During the fourteenth century the average price of wheat was a little less than six shillings a quarter, which was high, if we take into account the actual value of the currency.

But every third year was a year of scarcity when prices rose much higher, and the poor were often in sad plight. "Horse flesh was counted much delicacies," writes Stow of one of these, "the poor stole fat dogs to eat, some in hid places did eat the flesh of their own children. The thieves that were in prison did pluck in pieces those that were newly brought among them, and greedily devoured them half alive." But in the fifteenth century the fluctuations were still greater. In 1400 the price of wheat was 16s. instead of an average of 6s. a quarter; in 1434 it rose to 26s. 8d.; in 1438 it was 24s., in 1439 it was again 26s. 8d.; the want and pestilence which followed these high prices were so fearful that the chronicler, describing the sufferings of the last year, ends with the words, "I pray God let us see this day no more, if His will be."

The roads had suffered from the financial exhaustion of foreign and of civil wars, and the monasteries, straitened in their lowered incomes, could do less than before for local needs. The cost of carriage was therefore greater and local dearth must have been often felt. Moreover the effective demand for labour was arrested by the change from arable to sheep-farming, which began to shew itself markedly even at this time, and was before long to fill a large place in the thoughts of economists and statesmen. But this will come before us more fitly

in another chapter. Meantime before the changes had gone far the labourer lived in coarse plenty in good years, better off in some respects, perhaps, than he has ever been till the present time. There is much, however, to set against this favourable estimate. The houses mainly built in timbered frames, filled in with plaster and chopped straw and twigs, were dark and narrow and unwholesome, as Bishop Hall describes them :

> Of one bay's breadth, God wot, a silly cote
> Whose thatched spars are furred with sluttish soote,
> A whole inch thick, shining like blackmoor's brows,
> Through smoke that downe the headlesse barrel blows ;
> At his bed's feete feeden his stalled teame,
> His swine beneath, his pullen o'er the beame.
>
> —*Satires* v.

The cottages were built on the bare earth, and half way up was a rude floor, reached by a ladder. The stagnant waters often lay on the ill-drained soil around them, as Fitzherbert said : "Specially that water that cometh out of a town from every man's midding or dunghill is best, and will make the meadows most rankest" (c. xxv.). The salt meat and stale fish of their winter diet, with little variety of vegetable food, predisposed them to scurvy and other maladies ; good soap was a luxury beyond the reach of many, and clothes had to be washed with "cowdung, hemlock, nettles and refuse soap, than

which," says Harrison with reason, "there is none more unkindly savour."

Typhoid diseases spread among them, and in 1485 a new kind of sickness called the sweating sickness began its ravages, of which Sir John Paston writes, "it is the most universal death that ever I wist in England."

Animals also suffered largely from various forms of pestilence called by the general name of murrain, and the air was so tainted by the unburied cattle that labourers were appointed under the special name of '*cadaveratores*,' to remove the carcases and bury them. Thus in the Bramshott Rolls the formal return is made from year to year of the number so removed.

Some light is thrown from time to time on the condition of the parish by the lists of the taxpayers which still survive the chances of neglect and damp. They are called now the Rolls of the Lay Subsidies. There is one for the tax of the Twentieth, as early as 1327, in which 21 residents are named for the three Manors of Brambelshate, Lideshate and Chiltelye. A few more must be added for the fragments of Rogate-Bohunt and Oakhanger. Another, early in the reign of Henry VIII., names 57 heads of families in Bramshott who paid the tax of the Fifteenth, and the amount both of the assessment and the rate is in all cases entered. But this, as

will appear, does not represent the whole population or the poorest of the people. It may be convenient to explain the nature of the tax, as the principle on which it stood was different from our modern practice.

It had been an ancient custom, the precedent for which was found in the Saladin tithe of 1188, to grant a subsidy to the Crown under the name of a fifteenth for the county and a tenth for boroughs. It was levied on personalty, on the movable goods of each, but in the thirteenth century the assessment was not to include the knight's armour, nor the agricultural implements of the bondman or such of his stock as was not for sale, but merely the furniture of his cottage, and savings if he had any. Writs were issued for each county, and two knights appointed to assess and to collect. These in their turn named two to four freemen in each township, who between them made out the list. The long strips of parchment which contained the personal names and figures were fastened together afterwards, and the rolls, many feet in length, thus formed were sent by the Commissioners to the Sheriff, to be kept in safe custody in the National Archives. Large numbers of them are to be found now in the Record Office.

After 1334 the fifteenth and the tenth became merely ancient expressions for a sum, ascertained in

its amount, which was to be levied in the manner usual for the taxes on goods, being together a fiscal term for a sum of about £39,000. Each county and borough knew the amount it had to pay, and raised it in the form it found convenient. The nature of the subsidy, we see, was different from our income tax, as also from that system of indirect taxation which alone affects now the wage-earning classes. Exemption, moreover, was allowed to those who came lowest in the scale of means, but the minimum of assessment which escaped the charge varied at different times. The list for Bramshott of 1510 does not appear to include any whose goods were valued under twenty shillings. The amounts of the others, of course, vary greatly. The Squire's was one hundred pounds. Other men of substance had forty, twenty, fourteen, twelve, down to the minimum excused. The rate was calculated at fourpence in the pound on any sum below forty shillings, sixpence in the pound for any sum between two pounds and twenty, and above that one shilling in the pound for all. If we compare the amount with the inventories attached to contemporary wills, and bear in mind that 57 inhabitants were rated, we shall see reason to believe that the comforts of life were fairly distributed among the people.

In addition to the personal names of very early date that still appear, we now note many new ones.

Besides the farmer who had come to take the demesne lands, which were let on lease together with the old fixed rents, or rents of assize, other tenants filled the places of the copyholders who had surrendered their lands and homes, or, like the old lords, had no sons to bear their name. For after the Bramshott family had ceased to hold, under that name at least, both the Manor and advowson, there were several changes which it is not easy to explain. In 1451 it appeared by the formal inquiry that was made (*inquis. p. m.*) that Milo Wyndesore had died possessed of the Manors of Bramshott and Chiltelee and many others. This Milo, of the ancient stock which took its name from Windsor Castle, had gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and, dying on the way, was buried in the Convent of S. Bartholomew at Ferrara. Members of the same family intermarried afterwards with the Husseys of Harting and with the Mervyns and the Dudleys, who shared in later days the Manor and advowson of Bramshott, but there is no evidence to explain Milo's short-lived tenure of the estate (App. E i.). For in 1481 it appeared on a like inquiry that Katherine, widow of Sir Thomas Lukenor of Trotton, held at her death the Manor of Gatecombe and the advowson and Manor of Bramshott. It will be remembered that Gatecombe had by intermarriage with the Lisles become the property of the old

family of Bramshott, and the Katherine of whom mention has been made was the widow of John, the last of that line, and herself a descendant of the Sir John Pelham who took the King of France prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, and a daughter of the lord of Langton, Burwash, and other Manors in Sussex. The Lukenors took a high place in that county; they represented half a dozen of the most distinguished families, and were connected by marriage with a dozen more of the old landowners of the county. Another member of the clan suffered in the Civil Wars, and the sale of his estates during the Commonwealth caused some trouble, as we shall see presently, at Bramshott.

Again, in 1486 it appears that Margaret, widow of Sir John Pakenham, had a son Edmund, aged 6, whose estate at his father's death was occupied by Thomas Arundel, Lord Mautravars, but the jury knew not by what right. Margaret was one of the daughters of John Bramshott; her husband's family, to which the Earldom of Longford now belongs, took its surname from a village in Suffolk, and can be traced back to a Judge of Edward I. Sir Edmund Pakenham, the son of Margaret, presented to the benefice of Bramshott in 1509, and died in 1528, possessed of both Lordyngton and Bramshott. His will enables us to understand some of the family relations and illustrates some social features

of the times. Elizabeth, the daughter of this Sir Edmund Pakenham, married Sir Edmund Mervyn, who came of an old family at Fonthill Gifford, in Wilts, and was Judge of the King's Bench in 1540. He remained in office on the accession of Edward VI., and was a special commissioner under Mary for the trial of Sir Andrew Dudley in 1553. His name was not attached to Edward's will, though Sir James Hales was said to be the only Judge who refused to sanction it. He was sent down as Commissioner to inquire into the irregularities at Dureford Abbey, as has been described above, and the estates of the suppressed monastery were conveyed to him in 1544. One of his sons married a daughter of Sir Anthony Windsor, of Harting, and another became Rector of Bramshott. His will, which will appear presently, is also of some local interest, and the Elenor Rous who is named in it as his daughter was grandmother to the Speaker in the Barebones Parliament. Elizabeth, the other daughter, and co-heiress of John Bramshott, married John Dudley, and their son was the Edmund Dudley, who with Empson became generally odious as the instrument of the fiscal policy of Henry VIII., "which turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine" (Lord Bacon), and died in 1509 to appease the people's thirst for vengeance. Her grandson rose to be Duke of Northumberland; her great-grandson Guildford was the husband of the

ill-starred Lady Jane Grey (App. E ii.). It is of interest to note that Dugdale, in discrediting the report that John Dudley, the grandfather of the unscrupulous Duke, who "jostled my Lord of Dudley out of Dudley Castle and Barony," was himself of low degree—a carpenter by trade, so ran the story—laid stress on his 'eminent' marriage with the co-heiress of the lord of Bramshott and other manors, as enough of itself to prove his social rank.

The will of Sir Edmunde Pakenham ran as follows :

"In the name of God Amen. The ixth day of the month of July in the yere of our Lord God a thousand fyve hundred and twenty and eight I Edmunde Pakenham of Lordyngton in the parishe of Racheton in the diocese of Chichester Knygt being in hole minde and of goode memory do make my testament and last will in this maner and fourme folowing : First I bequethe my soule to Almightie God our beloved lady Saint Mary and to all the holy company of hevyn, and my body to be buried in the parishe churche of our blessed lady in Bramshott. Also I geve and bequethe to the high awter withyn our mother church of Chechister XXs for the maintenance of a contynuell light to be made and mainteyned before the holye sacrament there as for and as long tyme as the XXs will extend to the mayntenance of the said light. Also I do geve and bequethe to the

high awter in the Churche of Bramshott of the rents of my lands called Clerkes to mainteyn a light before the said high awlter there yerely during the space and term of twenty yeres next following the date hereof and to be further mainteyned and contynued after the good will and mynde of my heires and executors, and I will that the said londes and rents of the same be occupied and ordered by the discrecion of the parson of Bramshott nowe being and his successours and their assignes during the time aforesaid. Moreover I will that an honest prest be ordeyned and founde to pray for my soule and for the soules of them that I am bounde to pray for, the which I will shall singe and pray for us within the parishe of Bramshott for the space of 5 yeres next ensuing the date of this my present will, taking yerely £vi 13s. ivd. to be taken and levyed of the rents of that parte and moytie which perteyneth and belongeth unto Sir John Dudley Knight in the manor of Bramshott by the space of four yeres and a half for the which parte or moytie I paide to the said Sir John beforehand £33. 6. 8. whereof I have received £3. 6. 8. the which I will that my Executors shall paye to perfourme the said fyve yeres for the salary and wages of the said prest. Also I will that my pour tenants of Bramshott have of my gifte two quarters whete to be distributed amongst them. I doo geve in like maner two quarters whete to the pour of Chichester. Item I geve

in like maner to the pour people in the parishes of Walmington and Stowton two quarters whete. Also I geve and bequethe to my daughter Constance the tenne pounds which I paide to her husband Geffrey Pole for his interest that I had by him in the ferme of Gatcombe. Also I geve to my sonne Edmonde Myrvyn my gowne furred with foynes or a gowne of silke at his choice. Item I geve to the said Edmonde Myrvyn my dublet of saten newe stocked. Item I geve to the same Edmonde a millers bonett and and a crossbowe with his pack, morrover I geve and bequethe to my daughter Elizabeth all my shepe that I have wythin the precynte of the parishe of Bramshott. Furthermore I will that all persones seized of and in all my maners londs and tenements with their appurtenances in the counties of Berks, Hampshire and Sussex that be the jointure of Dame Kateryne my wife, except the manor of Lordyngton stande and be therof seized immediately after the death of the said Kateryne to the use of Edmonde Myrvyn and Elizabeth one of the daughters and heires apparent of me the said Edmonde Pakenham and the heires males of their two bodies lawfully begotten and to such use and interest as is specified and declared in a paper indented made between me and the said Edmonde Myrvyn signed with my hande of covenants of mariage and that all covenants and promyses and agrements conteyned in the said paper be well and

truely observed. Also I geve to my cosyn Raufe Dyngley all my right that I have in the parsonage of Compton yf he do lyve the terme of my yeres or els the same to the use of Kateryne my wife and after her to the use of my daughter Elizabeth Mervyn. Item I will that the said Raufe have all my interest that I have in the tenement with the gardyn in Compton which I took to ferme of William le Dene for the term of three yeres. Item I geve to the said Raufe forty shillings yerely during his lyfe after the terme of my yeres in the said parsonage of Compton. Also I geve to my servant Reynold Tournor 20s and all my long bowes with my newe grene jakett. Item I geve to Alice Houndysham widowe two bushells whete. Also I geve to William Gedney gent my blak parre of hosen. And the residew of myne apparell not bequethed I will that Kateryne my wife shall dispoase to my olde loving servants and friends after her owne pleasure and zele that she hath to my sowle for prayer to be had. And for further expedition for the perfourmance of this my testament I doo constitute and make overseers of the same my cosyn Henry White and my sonne Edmunde Myrvyn and I geve to them for the labor my gosse-hawke and my gelding and the said Edmunde Myrvyn shall have the choise of them. The residew of my goodes not bequethed my dettes truely content and paid I geve unto dame Kateryne my wife whom I doo constitute ordeyn and

'CLERKS' NEAR THE RECTORY.

[To face p. 125.

make my verey trusty sole executrice to dispose them as shall thinke it expedient for her profite and my soule helthe. These being witnesse

Sir John Hanson Curat of Bramshott.
Edmund Myrvyn gent.
Edward Mayle and others."

It was a common thing to leave money or lands—called sometimes the 'lampe lond'—for a light to burn before the high altar, but it is noteworthy that the parson of Bramshott was to have the management of the estate thus charged. As 'Clerks' was close beside the Rectory there was some appropriateness in this arrangement. The provision for the 'honest prest,' was a sort of terminable charity, and helps to explain the piscina in the south transept which belonged then to the Manor House.

The Geoffrey Pole, who married Constance, the testator's daughter, was the one disgrace to a distinguished stock. Brother of Cardinal Pole, son of Lady Margaret Salisbury, who was herself niece of Edward IV., and grand-daughter of the kingmaker Earl of Warwick, he turned in a moment of panic king's evidence against his brother and friends and brought them to the scaffold. There was little indeed proved against them, nor against his mother, of whom it was written, "Wee suppose that there hath not been seen or heard a woman so ernest, so

manlike in continuance, and so fierce as well in gesture as in words . . . her sonnes have not made her privy to the bottom and pit of their stomachs, or else is she the most errant Traytresse that ever lived." She died bravely and would not lay her head upon the block, so the executioner "was constrained to fetch it off slovenly." The Manor of Lordyngton must have been settled on Constance Pole before her father's death, for she left in her will to her "son Jeffrey all my manner of Lordyngton together with all other landes and tenements," as also "3 fether-beddes, 3 boulsters, 3 payer of sheetes and the coverlettes, 2 spoones of sylver gylte, 1 tester of russet saten, paned with blacke velvet." She and her "deare and well-beloved husband" were buried in the Church of Stoughton, one of the parishes to the poor of which her father left 2 quarters of wheat to be distributed.

VII.

THE AGE OF ENCLOSURES.

The sixteenth century has many features of interest for the student of English history, but it must be specially regarded as the Age of Enclosures in our rural life, though the movement began before and was continued afterwards. A few economists might advocate the changes, but moralists with a chorus of many voices emphasized the facts, and in varying tones of pathos and of scorn deplored their moral issues. Until lately the tendency had been to bring under cultivation portions of the waste, and though by manorial custom such encroachments (purprestures) were matter of presentment by the homage, they had been often encouraged by the lord, as in the case of Crondal above mentioned, where large quantities of land were entered under that name in the Rolls. The Statute of Merton in 1236 gave the formal right to appropriate in that way such of the waste as was not needed for the uses of the free

tenants of the Manor. Now that the arable land was becoming unproductive from the frequent croppings of corn, and the disadvantages of the old system, sheep-breeding was rapidly extended, and the increased demand for wool in foreign markets made the change still more lucrative. Less labour was required, which also was of moment, when wages had risen in spite of stringent statutes. Landowners were tempted to turn their demesne lands into sheep-walks, and to add to them by fair means or foul such of the copyholds as they could get into their hands, and sometimes as much of the commons as could be annexed. Economists again urged strongly the objections to the interlacing strips, and pleaded for separate farms against the three-field methods (note 16). Proper drainage was impracticable, when the wilfulness of one could frustrate the efforts of his neighbours, and common ditches or brooks would be neglected. There was no doubt as to the increase of rot among the sheep on the wet undrained ground, five times as many, it was said, on the common fields as on enclosures. But these arguments though put forward then were urged more strongly at a later date.

On the other hand, the hardships of the labouring classes were heard of on every side. Thus Fitzherbert in 1523 says: "It was of old true that all the lands, enclosures and pastures lay open and un-

enclosed. And then was their tenement much better chepe than they be now ; for the most part the lords have enclosed a great part of their waste groundes and streytened their tenants of their commons therein ; also they have enclosed their demesne lands and meadows and kept them in severalty, so that the tenants have no common with them therein. They have also given license to divers of their tenants to enclose part of their arable land, and take in new intakes or closes out of the commons, paying to their lords more rent therefore, so that the common pastures waxen less and the rents of the tenants waxen more" (*Surveyenge*, c. viii.). There was less demand for labour now that landlords, after the Wars of the Roses, had no need of armed retainers and replaced ploughmen by shepherds. A petition was addressed to King Henry in 1514, which stated, "where there was in a towne twenty or thirty divers houses, they be now decayed, ploughs and all, and all the people clene gone and decayed, and the churches downe, and no more parisshons in many parishes, but a nethard and a shepherd in the stede of sixty or eighty persons." An Act of 1515 tried ineffectually to arrest the changes. The tillage lands were to be restored from pasture, and the towns that had been depopulated were to be rebuilt within a year. Its failure was apparent, and then a Commission was appointed to inquire in each district how

many farm-houses and tenements had been destroyed since 1488, how much ground turned from arable into pasture, and what parks had been enclosed. Detailed reports of these proceedings have been kept, and it is evident that they acted boldly and with no respect for persons, as in the case of the park of Lord Dawbenye at Bramsyll. But the evils were still patent, and tender-hearted men like Sir Thomas More expressed their sense of them, as in a well-known passage of the *Utopia*, published in 1516: "Looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest, and therefore the dearest woll, there noblemen and gentlemen, yea and certain Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selfes with the yearely revenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beynge content that they live in rest and pleasure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique, leave no ground for tillage: thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw doune houses: thei plucke downe townes, and leave nothing standynge, but only the churche to be made a shepehouse. . . . Therefore that one covetous and unsatiable cormaraunte and very plage of his natyve contrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde togetter within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coveyne and fraude, or by violent oppres-

sion they be put besydes it, or by wronges and injuries thei be so weried, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes therefore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muste needes departe awaye, poore, selye, wretched soules, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their yonge babes, and their whole houshold smal in substance, and muche in numbre, as husbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I say, out of their knowen and accustomed houses, fyndynge no place to rest in. All their household stuffe, whiche is verye litle woorthe, thoughe it myghte well abide the sale: yet beeynge sodainely thruste oute, they be constrayned to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered abrode tyll that be spent, what can they then els doo but steale, and then justly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei never so willyngly profre themselves thereto. For one Shephearde or Herdsman is ynoughe to eate up that grounde with cattel, to the occupiyng whereof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite."

The bitter ballad "Now a days" voiced the people's feelings:

Envy waxith wondrous strong,
The riche doth the poor wrong;
God of His mercy sufferith long
The devil his workes to work.
The towns go down, the land decays,
Of cornefeyldes plaine layes;
Gret men makith now a days
A sheepcot of the churche.
The places that we right holy call
Ordained for Christian burial,
Of them to make an ox's stall
Thes men be wonders wise.
Commons to close and keep;
Poor folks for bread to cry and wepe;
Towns pulled down to pasture shepe—
This ys the new gyse.
(Ballads fr. MSS. I., 153.)

Legislative restrictions were again imposed. An Act of 1532 dwelt upon the enhanced prices, and the farm labourers evicted and demoralised, and enacted as a partial remedy that no man was to keep more than two thousand sheep. But this limitation was frustrated, we are told, by assigning some of them to kinsfolk or dependents. An Act of 1534 referred to the neglect of the statute of 1488, which had insisted that houses on farms should be kept in due repair, and dwells on the existing evils. In 1541 Portsmouth, Southampton, and Guildford were included in the list of the 'decayed towns,' in which the rebuilding of houses was prescribed.

The favoured recipients of church lands were specially bound by an Act of 1536 to keep on such lands "an honest continual house and household," and occupy yearly as much as had been used before in plowing and tillage of husbandry, but there is not much evidence that the condition was observed. Legal chicanery was used, it seems, to oust the copyholders from their lands or to increase their rents, and the new landlords who succeeded to the suppressed abbeys or impoverished nobles had little scruple in tightening their hold upon the land.

Coke indeed might state at a later time the legal aspect thus: "Now copyholders stand upon a sure ground, now they weigh not their lord's displeasure, they shake not at any sudden blast of wind, they eat and drink securely; only having a special care of the main chance, viz., to perform carefully what duties and services soever their tenure doth exact, and custom doth require; then let lord frown, the copyholder careth not, knoweth himself safe." But the facts sometimes were very different then. Though the fines payable upon admittance to the land vacated by the death or surrender of a tenant were fixed commonly by custom, it seems that the amount which the lord could exact was not yet limited by law, and complaints were made that some made free use of their arbitrary powers to exact heavy fines which it was impossible to pay, and so in default of payment

to get the lands into their own hands again. Pressure was applied in various ways to induce tenants to surrender their customary rights in exchange for leases for definite terms or lives, and when small holdings were thrown together it was easier to carry out the change. The new landowners who obtained the grants of convent lands were said to be above all others oppressive in this way. "They make us to believe that by virtue of your Highness' sale all our former writings are void and of none effect, and that if we will not take new leases of them we must then forthwith avoid the grounds," so ran the "Supplication of the Poor Commons." During the outbreak in Norfolk under Ket one of the chief demands of the insurgents was that the amount of fines should be restricted which landowners should be entitled to require at the renewal of the tenure. Even in Chaucer's days there was oppression in manorial courts, for the Parson's tale speaks of the "hard lordships" due to the "cursed sin of avarice through which men are distrained by tallages, customs, and carriages, more than their duty or reason is; and eke take they of their bondmen amercements, which might more reasonably be called extortions than amercements."

The small farmers dispossessed, or the labourers whose houses were pulled down, as they wandered away in search of a new home, had to face the pitiless restrictions of the existing law. An act, 1391, had

ordained that "no servant or labourer, man or woman, shall depart out of his own hundred, to serve or dwell elsewhere, unless he bring a letter-patent containing the cause of his going, under the king's seal." If found wandering without such letter, he is to be put in the stocks, until he find surety to return to his service. So in later days people without fixed abode might be summarily dealt with. In 1519, we have a certificate of Justices "of such vacabundes and mysdemeanerd persones as they have made search for. In Holborn, at the sign of the George, one Christopher Tyllesly lay there two nights passed. Has no master and is committed to Newgate. In the house of one Christopher Arundell one Robert Bayly has no master and is committed to Newgate. Says he is wanting to have attachment sealed out in Chancery at the suit of a kinswoman of his." The vagrant law of 1547 empowered any one who found a man idling three days together, or leaving his service, to take him before two justices, and have him branded at the breast with a hot iron, and to keep him for two years with a chain round neck or arm or leg, and to beat him to make him work. If he ran twice away, he might be put to death. It was no wonder that there were explosions of popular hopelessness and discontent as in 1549. The hedge-breaker's hymn gave voice to the sympathy with which the movement was regarded:

The poor say God blesse your harte,
For if it continued they shuld smarte ;
The wives of it also be glad
Which for ther cattell lyttel mete had.
Some have but one sealy cow,
Wher is no hay nor straw in mowe,
Therefore it is gud conscience I wene
To make that common that ever hath bene.

Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, ii. 41.

To these causes of distress must be added the debasement of the currency, which was tampered with time after time till "the shilling issued in 1551 contained less than one seventh of the pure silver of that of 1527." Trade was disorganized and industry impoverished by the fluctuations in value that ensued, for the prices of necessaries rose one hundred per cent. and wages only fifty.

To this was partly due the "great dearthe of victualles," which More ascribed in his time to other causes, and this sinister influence was continued by the ministers of Edward in spite of "exhortations to charity and almsgiving which issued from a gang of coiners and smashers," as a bitter critic has expressed it. The ballad "Vox populi," echoes the complaint of the high prices:

Whatt powre man nowe is abell
To have mette one is tabell ?
Ane oxe at fyve pownde,
Yf it be anything rownde.

All through this century complaints were loudly urged of rural hardship and oppression. "If I shuld demand," says Crowley in 1550, "of the pore man of the contrey what thinge he thinketh to be the cause of sedition, I know his answer. He woulde tel me that the greate fermares, the grasiers, the riche buchares, the men of lawe, the merchauntes, the gentlemen, the lordes, and I cannot tel who, men that have no name because they are doers in al thinges that ani gaine hangeth upon. Men without conscience. Men utterly voide of Goddes feare. Yea men that live as though there were no God at all. Men that woulde have all in their owne handes; men that woulde be alone in the earth. Men that bee never satisfied. Cormerantes, gredye gulles; yea men that would eate up menne, women, and chyldren, are the causes of sedition. They take our houses over our headdes; they bye our groundes out of our handes, they rayse our rentes, they leavie great fines, they enclose our commons. . . . In the countrey we can not tarrye, but we must be theyr slaves, and laboure tyll our hertes brast, and then they must have al. Woe to the leasemongers and surveyors that of the ten pound land make twenty. Yea though he have ben an honeste, true, faythfull and quiete tenant many yeres, yet at the vaccation of his copie or indentur he must paye welmoste as muche as woulde purchayse so much grownde, or else voide in haste,

though he his wife and chyldrene shoulde perish for lacke of harbour."

Population was drawn from the county only to be massed together elsewhere in overcrowded and insanitary houses. Futile attempts were made to remedy this evil, as by the Act of 1589, which reads strangely to our modern ears: "Whereas great inconveniences are found by experience to grow by the erecting and building of great numbers and multitudes of cottages, which are daily more and more increased in many parts of the realm," four acres were to be assigned to each, except in cities and towns, and no more than one family or household to be in any one cottage, under penalty of ten shillings a month. Nearly two centuries later Arthur Young complained of it as a hindrance to good husbandry, and implies that it was still observed.

But though there was distress among dispossessed farmers and ejected labourers, yet there was real prosperity among the agricultural classes. The prices of wheat rose from six to thirteen shillings a quarter in 1540, and the husbandmen benefited by the increase notwithstanding the rise in rents. Harrison speaks strongly on this point. "In my time, although peradventure foure pounds of old rent be improved to fortie or fiftie, yet will the farmer thinke his gaines verie small toward the end of his terme, if he have not 6 or 7 yeares rent lieing by

him, therewith to purchase a new lease, beside a faire garnish of pewter on his cupboard, 3 or 4 feather beds, so manie coverlids and carpets of tapestrie, a silver salt, a bowle for wine, and a dozzen of spoones to furnish up the sute." And again: "Manie farmers by vertue of their old and not of their new leases, have learned to garnish their cupboards with plate, their beds with tapestrie and silke hangings, and their tables with fine naperie, whereby the wealth of the countrie doth infinitelie appeare." He speaks also of "the multitude of chimnies latelie erected," whereas in older time "each one made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat." The improved bedding also called for notice, whereas before "pillows were thought meet onelie for women in child-bed. As for servants, if they had anie sheet above them, it was well, for seldom had they anie under their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking strawes that ran oft through the canvas and rased their hardened hides." He complained, however, of the degeneracy of the times. "Now we have many chimneys and yet our tenderlings complain of rheums, catarrhs and 'poses'; then had we none but reredosses, and our heads did never ache. For as the smoke in those days was supposed to be a sufficient hardening for the timber of the houses, so it was reputed to be a far better medecine to keep the good man and his family from the quack

or pose, wherewith as then very few were acquainted. . . . When our houses were builded of willow, then had we oaken men, but now that our houses are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become as willows, but a great many altogether of straw, which is a sore alteration."

Now, to come back to Bramshott, we look with interest for any evidence of the local action of these general causes and conditions. The changes in the ruling families must have disturbed the old hereditary ties between the Manor houses and the customary tenants. New landlords were not likely to have the same kindly interest as the old. They were, however, connected with the county families around them, such as the Lewknors, Windsors and the Tichbornes, and may, therefore, have had more regard for the feeling of the country side. The Mervyns supplied a Rector to the benefice, and did something—it was not very much—at death in the form of parish charity. But the Subsidy Rolls of 1597 do markedly contrast with those at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. (p. 117). The numbers taxed are but one-third of those of the earlier return. It seems that either a much larger number was excused on the ground of poverty, or small farms had been thrown together, and labourers had wandered off. It is probable that all of these causes were at work. It is quite clear that many of

the small holdings were now being combined in the same farm. We read little more in the Court Rolls of yardlands but of demesne lands leased in their entirety to a single tenant, together with the rights of assize, and besides that of farms of fifty to a hundred acres. It does not appear, however, that here at least the rents were high or fines exorbitant. We cannot insist on a case like that in Ludshot when Peter atte Crouche (afterwards Croucher)—who lived probably by the Rudeherne near Passfield—on entry on his lands gave "a quarter of a mark, a calf, and a flaggon of wine," for the extent of ground is not defined. But Thomas Hogsflesh held Bohunt, with one hundred acres, for a rent of forty shillings, and George Tribe had a messuage of fifty acres of land at Grigg's Green for thirteen shillings and fourpence. These still held by copy of the roll, but leases and formal indentures now appear, and in Ludshot and Chiltelee lands were let for a term of lives, with what was afterwards, if not at first, a heavy payment when a new life was introduced with the lord's consent. This system has been kept up to our own days, and in the case of one little holding the last life ended only a year or two ago, when the nature of the tenure had been long forgotten.

Whatever changes there may have been as regards the amounts of fines and reliefs the quit rents were low, even when not peppercorns and pounds of

cummin or red roses, as were frequent in the Bohunt and Ludshot Manors, and the copyholders profited undoubtedly by the altered value of the currency. The four or six pence an acre which had been substantial payments, became nominal as the influx of precious metals, and the issue of baser coinage lowered the effective value of the sums which they had to pay. This may have been regarded by the landowners as good reason to justify the higher fines which were afterwards demanded when leases were run out or fresh lives were admitted. Thus in Ludshot sums of £60 and £110 were required though the rent was purely nominal.

Our local records illustrate another feature of the times which was thought to prejudice the interests of the native yeomen. John White, a merchant and alderman of London, obtained by purchase a tenement in Ludshot; a member of the 'Carpenters' Company acquired Calvecroft at Liphook in the Manor of Chiltelee; the Dean and Chapter of Chichester became also tenants opposite the 'Anchor,' where they owned afterwards both the 'Ship' and 'Hart.' New names appear in the Parish registers as of higher social rank, and the resentment at the competition found strong expression in the writings of the time. "Look at the merchants of London," said a

preacher, "and ye shall see, when as by their honest vocacion . . . God hath endowed them with great abundaunce of ryches, then can they not be so content . . . but their riches muste abrode in the countrey to bie fermes out of the handes of worshypfull gentlemen, honeste yeomen, and pore laborynge husbandes."

There is little reason to suppose that there was much oppressive action here though the conditions of landed tenure undoubtedly were changed, and the actual occupants of the land were fewer. Small enclosures of the waste were made with the lord's consent in various places both for cultivation and for building purposes, and formal leases of 2000 to 10,000 years were granted at a trifling yearly rent. It was in this way that some cottages were built in Liphook at this time on the high road opposite the 'Anchor' on land taken from the waste with sanction given by indenture still remaining. The blacksmith's forge indeed is of much earlier date, for the bailiff of the Manor paid the smyth at at Liephok for shoeing horses, in 1418, and still earlier a grant of land was made to John atte Leghe de lepoke, smyth. Harrison complains that the discomfort of the bad roads of this time was much increased by the license given so freely to put up cottages by the side of the now narrowed highways, a practice indeed from which we are suffering to this

day. "Whereas some streets within these five and twenty yeares have been in most places fifty foot broad according to the law, whereby the traveller might either escape the thiefe or shift the mier, or pass by the loaden cart without danger to himselfe or his horse, now they are broughte unto twelve or twenty or six and twenty at the most, which is another cause also whereby the waies be the worse and manie an honest man encombred in his journeie. But what speake I of these things, whereof I doo not thinke to have a just redresse, because the error is so common and the benefit thereby so sweet and profitable to manie, by such houses and cottages as are raised upon the same."

To this period probably belong other dealings with the waste of a more questionable kind. The plantation of Kingswood Firs and near the Chase on Hindhead, and subsequent enclosures may have then begun, as also appropriations to the copyholds of Clerks and Downlands, which were soon to be enfranchised, of exclusive rights of fern over many acres of the adjoining heath. The consent of the lord of the manor, which was doubtless obtained for a consideration, was not warranted by the Statute of Merton, as a disproportionate amount was left for the uses of all the other tenants. But the rights of pasturage were of much more moment to them, and these were not in the latter cases permanently

invaded as elsewhere. It was to account for such claims to portions of what had been evidently adjoining waste that the fictions of fancy of 'reputed manors' have been strewn liberally over the map in forest districts by auctioneers and lawyers, where no evidence whatever is adduced of the existence, at any time, of commoners or courts in the estates in question.

If we turn to inquire if the Reformation caused stir or involved material consequences at Bramshott, we may note one or two points of interest.

One of the earliest known families of yeomen within the parish, the Boxalls, had sent a son, John, to Winchester and New College, Oxford, where he was regarded "as one of the subtilest disputants in the University." He kept in the background during King Edward's reign, having no sympathy with the movement of Reform; but on the accession of Queen Mary he was made her Secretary of State, and preferments followed rapidly. He became Archdeacon of Ely, Prebendary of Winchester, Dean of Norwich and of Windsor, and Prebendary of York, Salisbury, and St. Paul's. But when the new reign ushered in religious changes he was stripped of all his ecclesiastical preferments and committed to the custody of the Archbishop at Lambeth. He soon regained his freedom, but lived henceforth in retirement, remembered only by a few "as a person of

great modesty and learning" (Wood, *Athenae Ox.*, i. 180). He left little behind him, but a high-flown eulogy on Mary and Philip from his pen exists in the British Museum, and may be read by those who will. The Latin style is very good, questionable as the sentiments may seem.

Another who suffered at the same time was connected with both Rectory and Manor House. Edmund Mervyn, the son of the Sir Edmund whose will shall presently be given, is described in it as the parson of Bramshott, to which he was instituted in 1549. He soon vacated it, however, and was Archdeacon of Surrey and Rector of Sutton in 1559, when he was deprived, and was included in Sanders' list of those who were either imprisoned or in exile from unwillingness to accept the new *régime*. Two leading families of Bramshott, therefore, were represented among the sufferers from religious changes, but the yeoman's son had risen to the higher place (note 17).

Elsewhere the confiscation of Gild funds had deprived many a parish of the means which had enabled it to promote a cheerful spirit and the interests of mutual service. The suppression of the chantries, too, largely diminished the numbers of the clergy, and left the parish priest without a helper. But there is no certain proof that any such Chantry or Gild existed here, though the separate altars in the Transepts of the Church, as evidenced by the Piscinas left

there on the walls, are often traces of such institutions in the past. The continuity of the Church life in the Parish was not, as far as can be seen, disturbed by violent changes. The same Rector ministered before and after the reforming Statutes, conformed to the conditions of the law, but with what degree of sympathy or reluctance it is not easy to discover. At any rate he was an educated man, not like some of a new type of whom the parishioners complained: "He slubbereth up the service, and cannot read the humbles" (homilies).

There were malcontents, of course, around; and there is reason to believe that some of the Mervyn family did not long remain in favour of the religious changes, though Sir Edmund, the Judge, had owned the lands of Dureford Abbey. The second Edmund, sometime Rector of Bramshott, was a sufferer at the accession of Elizabeth. Later in the Queen's reign a kinsman resident in the manor house, though not its owner, is apparently referred to as an object of suspicion in the notes of the lord keeper Puckering on some evidence furnished by an informer about the gentlemen of Hampshire who were likely to harbour Popish priests. After mention of Mr. Shelley's manor house at Buriton, where there was a hiding-place under the parlour, in which two men might lie concealed, a note was made of Robert Knight, lord of the manor of Ludshot, "as hard by Bramshott,

where Mr. Marvin dwelleth" (note 18). Both of them were related by marriage to the Tichbornes, who were resolute adherents of the old church system. The recusants, indeed, who declined to attend their parish church, "or other place of common prayer," were numerous throughout the county. "At every sessions some 7 score were indicted," said the clerk of the peace in 1584; and crushing fines were actually paid for years by some landowners: the estates of others were sequestered; tradesmen of Petersfield and yeomen near, whose names have been recorded, were exposed to all the possible rigours of the law, if not actually ruined. Thus, in a Subsidy Roll of Bramshott, John Boles and his wife Elizabeth are entered as convicted recusants, and charged only with a poll tax, for they had little left to tax. The heads, however, of the Mervyn family, or of what is called the Dureford Branch of it, who resided not on their estates at Bramshott, but at Petersfield, adhered consistently to the Established Church. Anne, for example, who was lady of the Manor in 1605, left in her will "to Mr. Welsteed Preacher of God's holie worde in Petersfield forty shillings, to Mr. Sutton of Petersfield one other of gode ministers twenty shillings." Her husband Edmund, whose will she had lately proved (Feb., 1605), shewed in a curious way his confidence in the ecclesiastical rulers of his time: "I will and

bequeathe unto the Reverend Father in God Thomas now Lord Bysshope of Winchester twenty shillings desiring his lordshippe to have a care to take so much paines for me as to see this my last will proved in such sorte as the same maie be perfourmed in all thinges accordinge to my trewe meaninge. Item I give unto Mr. Doctor Ridley Chancellor of Winchester ten shillings desiring him to be an assistante for me about this my last will." (App. E iii.)

His father Henry, who survived him, was in favour of the simplest rites, for he desired in his will "to be buried in parische churche where it shall please God I shall depart this life, without either ringe of bells or any other pompe or shewe, more than one bell to be runge presentlie after my departure out of this life, to give knowledge that the Kinge hath loste subject." He might perhaps have agreed with the Lower House of Convocation which protested many years before "that singyng of mass matins or evensong is but roring, howling, whistling, mummyng, conjuryng, jogelyng, and the playing at the organys a foolish vanity."

It was a very frequent usage of the later Middle Ages to keep up a Church House where 'Church Ales' could be held and other social gatherings of various kinds, such as Aubrey writes of: "There were no rates for the poor in my grandfather's days;

but for Kingston S. Michael (no small parish) the Churchale of Whitsuntide did the business. In every parish there is (or was) a church house, to which belonged spits, crocks, etc., and utensils for dressing provisions." It is quite probable that the old House, now called Church Farm, was the scene of such parochial merry-makings. One of the lords who succeeded to the Bramshotts seems to have transferred his home to what was called Bramshott Place, but now the Grange. The old chamber still remaining—the only fragment left of the ancient buildings there—dates from the sixteenth century, but there is no tradition of the family who built it. The earlier house—long called Old Place—would have been very suitable in its central position by the Church for any parochial uses. If no distinct Church House existed its place was taken by one of the new Inns which we find mentioned later on in the Overseers' Accounts. There was no scruple at this time in licensing fresh houses. It was a privilege enjoyed by Sir Walter Raleigh to have them opened where he pleased, at least up to 'a convenient number,' and a thousand such licenses issued by him have been found. Lists were made out of the whole number of such public houses in the kingdom, and it appears that in Hampshire alone there were 405 in 1574—a very ample provision for a population relatively small. That they were freely used we may infer from the

A FRAGMENT OF BRAMSHOTT PLACE. [To face p. 150.

literary references to them. Thus Crowley wrote of them :

> And lightly in the country
> They be placed so
> That they stand in men's way
> When they should to Church go,
> And then such as love not
> To hear their faults told
> By the Minister that readeth
> The new Testament and old
> Do turn into the Alehouse
> And let the Church go.

Attempt indeed was made to restrain by Statute "inordinate haunting and tippling" in inns ; they were to be used by wayfaring people chiefly ; labouring men were to be allowed to stay only one hour at dinner time ; constables and churchwardens who neglected to enforce the provisions of the Act were liable to a fine of forty shillings. Thus at Basingstoke it was presented by the homage that A. B. C. are "night watchers and sleep in the day, spending their time at the alehouse, wherefore the bailiffs must look into the said matter." But the liquors sold became more potent : the ales for the country folk were stronger, while for the well-to-do the lighter Gascon wines gave way to the Spanish, or received additions on the way, "were brued in Zeland syns ther comyng over." Harrison puts the matter with more vigour than elegance in his

Elizabethan England: "It is incredible to saie how our malt-bugs lug at this liquor, even as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their dames' teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag."

To this period belong the first beginnings of our Poor Law System. The Statutes of Labourers of the middle of the fourteenth century had aimed at a supply of labour at what were thought normal rates, and at the prevention of vagrancy by making it penal to give doles to sturdy beggars. These were to be imprisoned, branded even, if they would not return home. But the agrarian changes described above, the dismissal of idle serving men, and presently of monks and hangers-on from the suppressed convents, caused widespread distress and misery for which further remedies were needed. An Act of 1530 allowed the Justices to give begging licenses to those who could not work. Another in 1536 required the local authorities to "find and keep" the impotent poor of their own district. Alms were to be collected in "common boxes" in the Church on every Sunday, and open doles were disallowed. "Valiant beggars," whipped and sent home, were to have a pass entitling them to food and lodging every ten miles. Afterwards for provision of relief for those in "unfained misery" the Curate of the parish was bidden "to make (according to such talent as God hath geven him) a godlye and briefe

exhortation to hys parishioners, moving and exciting them to remember the poore people and the dutie of Christian charitie in relieving of them which bee theire brethren in Christe, born in the same parish, and nedinge theire helpe." If anyone refused to give his alms the parson and churchwardens were "gently to exhort" him, and "if he will not be so persuaded the Bishop shall send for him to induce him by charitable ways and means." In 1563 it was added that when the Bishop failed, the Justices of the Peace in rural districts might "sesse taxe and lymit upon every such obstinate person what he shall pay weekly." Finally, in 1572 the Justices were empowered to name Overseers of the Poor to expend the sums provided by direct assessment. It will be more convenient to reserve the further treatment of the subject for a later chapter, when local illustrations can be drawn in some detail from the accounts of the Overseers of Bramshott.

It must not be forgotten that the legislative action of the Government did much, though unwittingly, to create the poverty which well-meaning Statutes now and afterwards were intended to relieve. An Act of 1562 had a fatal influence on the fortunes of English industry, though its effects were not perhaps immediately felt. It had always been usual to take measures to fix by authority the prices of the necessaries of life in the interest of the consumers. There had

also been already many statutes in 1349 and following years to regulate the wages paid to labour, but these appear to have had little permanent effect. Now their place was taken by an Act which was drastic and wide-reaching. It enacted that every one under 30 years of age, not having 40 shillings a year, should be compelled to work, and if not otherwise employed or apprenticed, should be compellable to serve in husbandry; artisans even might be forced to work in harvest, or punished with the stocks if they refused. The rates of wages were to be fixed by the Justices in Quarter Sessions, certified in Chancery and proclaimed by the Sheriffs, and penalties of ten days' imprisonment, or a fine of £5, might be imposed on the giver of higher wages. Women between the age of 12 and 40, if single, were "compellable to work." The Justices were directed to inquire from time to time into the due execution of the Act, and were to be paid the wages of County Members for such time as was so spent. An assessment made by the Magistrates of Rutland was printed by the Queen's orders, and served as a type of similar regulations to be applied with regard to differences of local prices. It ruled that the farm labourer should have by the day, harvest excepted, 6 pence without meat, or 2 pence with it, and the prentice of carpenter, bricklayer and plumber was paid at the same rate, while the artisan himself was to have 8 pence. A few

such Quarter Sessions assessments have been preserved, spreading over a term of a hundred years, and in another chapter attention may be called to the relation which the wages thus fixed bore to the prices of the necessities of life. At first, however, in our corner of rural Hampshire such regulations were probably of no great importance. A large proportion of the householders had sufficient land, the remainder had their plots of ground, and privileges connected with the large commons round them. The peasants' day-labour at fixed wages affected few, and those only for a portion of their time.

Before we leave this period some extracts may be given from Wills which represent different classes of society in Bramshott and illustrate their sentiments and habits. The first is that of Sir Edmund Mervyn, knight (d. 1550), who has been already spoken of as the grantee of Dureford Abbey and the son-in-law of Sir Edmund Pakenham. He bequeathed his "sowle to Almightie God to be saved by the merits of Christes passion beseeching our blessed ladye and all the holie companie of heaven to be meanes for me that I may receive the fruits of the same passion. . . . My bodie to be buried in the churche of Bramshott in the Southe Ile ther wher Sir Edmunde Pakenham knight and my lady, late his wief, lye. . . . I give frely to my wel-beloved wief Dame Elizabeth Mervyn all my plate, ready money, householding

goods and chattels, my best scarlet robe, my horse I ride on myself. . . . my cloth sacke horse, my dune gelding with blacke lyst, my curtall that my cooke comenly rydeth on, and 2 ambling coltes at Winchester. . . . I give to Elenor Rous my daughter my browne blue Abbet and also money to discharge my consyens for her against Ayling. To cosyn Nicholas Tichborne my grene abbet with apparel of the same. . . . My sonne Henry shall have for his parte all the plate that I had with the marriage of his wife that was Sir Anthony Windesores and my best 2 saltes and my standing cuppe. To Sir John Probyn my chaplyn my ryding gowne and 13s. 4d. besyde his wages. At the daye of my buryall 50 shillings to be given to poore people at Petersfield, and half a quarter wheate to the poore people at Bramshott. I will that the parson of Bramshott be allowed tenne poundes for his first frutes at the daies appointed for payment of the same." His son Edmund, one of his executors, was already Rector of Bramshott.

We may take next the will of a substantial yeoman, the father of the much beneficed ecclesiastic, John Boxall, who was stripped of his dignity at Queen Elizabeth's accession :

"I Robert Boxall of Bramshotte, gyve my sowle unto almyghtie god my maker redemer and savior, to our blessed ladye Sainte Mary, and to all the holye

Santes in heaven. And my bodye I gyve to be buried in the churche or churcheyard of Bramshotte . . . and as towchinge my worldly goodes that god hathe lent me in this worlde my whole truste is in my executors that they will bestowe and gyve in charitable almes for Jesus Christes sake and the wealthe of my sowle suche portion of my goodes as they shall thinke best to godes honour the comfort and release of the poore accordinge unto ther conscience and discrecyon." He gave £5 apiece to his two sons Edmund and Richard—afterwards the executors of their brother John—and to his daughter, and the residue was left to "Jane Boxall my wif and John Boxall my sonne whome I make my hole and full executores to bestowe and dispose of my goodes as they shall thinke by goddes grace best." He also 'ordained' two 'Overseers' who were to have for their 'painestakinge' 20s. apiece. And he ends: "And thus I doe commyte my soule unto the merciful handes off god and biddinge all my lovinge wife children and ffrendes ffarewell in godes grace and pece. Amen."

Another substantial farmer, Edmund Hounsham, (d. 1553) described himself as of the parish of Bramshott "in the diocese of Chichester," a curious mistake probably of the scribe who may have known that the Hounshams lived in the Sussex side of the parish. After the expression of the usual pious

hopes the will goes on: "I bequeth to Agnes my wife 20 mares, one stall of bees and my wayet clothe. Item I give to Alice Falower 1 stall of bees. Item I gyve to Alice Jane and Elizabeth my daughters every of theym fyve poundes. And if anny of theym dye the Overseers to have the legacye of suche as dye. And if they will take cattell for ther father's legacies to theym given my will is that they shall be paide at my monthes day after my death." To four women he left 1 ewe and 1 ewe tegg apiece, and to one in addition a stall of bees and 2 kirtles. Richard Hounsham was to have a stall of bees and "my best doublett," and Peter Betsworth "my best russet cote," and another friend "my best violet cote" and 2 heythers and 3 ewes. "Item I will that all the rest of my bee stalles not bequeathed to remayne and to be kept whole to the proffitt of my children. Item I gyve to every one of my godchildren 1 ewe. Item I gyve to Jane Tribbe one gowne." All the rest was given to his son Robert, whom he made his "whole and sole executor." Like the others he appointed also Overseers, "praying them to see the same well performed," giving them a half and quarter mark respectively for their pains "and all such things between us forgiven."

VIII.

THE HOOKES AND THE CIVIL WARS.

After a long interval we have again the guidance of a few court rolls belonging to this period, which throw a little light on some aspects of parochial life. The incidents of base tenure, the enforced labour on the demesne land, the survivals of personal dependence as described above have entirely disappeared, and copyholders and farmers occupy the ground; yardlands or virgates will soon be quite replaced by acres, and there is little talk of fines other than heriots or reliefs. The rolls are still kept in a sort of Latin, with free admixture of the people's language, and little care for technical precision. 'Purprestures' are replaced by trespasses on the waste (*encrochia mentum super vastum*), and these are frequent now both by cottagers and farmers, and are duly presented in the Court, but not always to much effect. The enlargement of the water meadows and diversion of the streamlets leads to social friction, and the lord

himself is peremptorily warned to restore the river to its channel, though a few years before he had allowed his tenant to flood his fields by a payment of two fat capons only. Much of the cultivated land has passed into the possession of outsiders, citizens of London, Winchester College, the Worshipful Company of Carpenters, Magdalene College, Oxford, the Dean and Chapter of Chichester ; some of them successors in title of the religious houses which had been suppressed ; increasing variety in any case instead of the uniform conditions of the past. But in outward aspect there was little change. The approaches to the forest lands were still carefully closed by 'hatches'—three at least on the side of Hindhead to the North, including even the King's highway (*alta regia via*) which led to London—and the duty of repairing these fell on the neighbouring tenants, who are presented for their negligence in the Manor Court. The lanes which they closed were water-courses in the winter season, and were worn in the course of ages far below the level of the land on either side ; the footpaths which ran often alongside in the fields above were a welcome refuge from the mire and deep ruts, or the teams of oxen which there was scant room to pass. Some of the lanes were mainly sheep-walks, rented at first for private uses to give access to the downs above, noted as such in the court rolls, but secured in course of time for

SPRING POND LANE. [To face p. 160

public rights of way, whether so determined or not by what has been called the "aratral twist" in reference to the fanciful theory of Mr. Isaac Taylor (note 19). The lanes wandered here and there in winding course. They turned even sometimes almost at right angles, when they took the place of the strips of turf left for free passage between the different holdings in a common field of the times before enclosures. A hundred accidents of natural position determined the limits and shape of these allotments, and some of the boundaries remained the same when the agrarian partnerships were broken up.

Rights of way indeed were matters of dispute in very early times. One of the first entries in our rolls refers to such a claim over the 'Chalvecroft' tenement at Liphook; another of this period dealt with the way from the Church to Ludshot, or the lane that now leads to Woolmer Park. The last century saw a number of such paths disappear; some were no longer needed when the roads alongside were in good order; happily the forest lands retain a multitude of devious tracks in which the interests of the public can be easily secured. Many substantial homesteads had by this time taken the place of the poor dwellings of the copyholders, and a few—a very few—of these remain, or at least some picturesque fragments of them, to remind us of what rural scenes were like three centuries ago. Here and there may

be seen the timber frames filled in with daub and plaster under the thatched roof, and the old weather tiles and dormer windows, the shapely chimney stacks obliquely set, the wide fireplaces with andirons and fire backs and bacon loft, features more familiar on the Sussex side, but not yet forgotten here. The gorse and heather from the commons supplied the fuel for the long ovens with which every cottage was supplied, and the household bread was baked at once for the whole week, when the daily rounds of bakers' carts were not dreamed of in the country-side. The encroachments on the waste which were spoken of above were insignificant as compared with the vast stretches of forest lands which were long uninvaded though not regarded with much favour by agricultural reformers. "Open countries," wrote one who knew well our Hampshire heaths, "are the producers, shelters, and maintainers of the vast number of vagrants and idle persons that are spread throughout the greater part of England, and are encouragements to theft, pilfering, lechery, idleness, and many other lewd actions" (Worlidge). There was probably little change as yet in the woodlands of the district. The old Court Rolls speak only of oaks, beeches, and birches; but the yew, maple, holly, lime, hazel, and thorn had stamped themselves on the place names which still remain in use. Elms had spread themselves more thickly in the open country

with the increase of the hedgerows round the fields, but the firs which are now massed in the plantations or self-sown in the heath-lands are of later date, and now add a different feature to the scene (note 20).

Oxen were still freely used for draught. Fitzherbert had dwelt upon the advantages of using them, for they "wyl plough in tough clay and upon hylly ground, whereas horses wyl stande styll. . . . Horses be quicker for carriage, but they be farre more costly to kepe in wynter, for they must have bothe hey and corne to eate, and strawe for lytter, they must be well shodde in all four fete, and the gere that they shall drawe with is more costly than for the oxen. If any sorance come to an oxe, waxe old, broysed or blynde, for two shillings he may be fedde, and than is he mannes meate. The horse when he dythe is but caryen" (*Husbandry*, p. 7). More than a century later a Hampshire agriculturist spoke of oxen as "worthy beasts in great request with the husbandman, the oxe being useful at his cart and plough" (Worlidge, *Syst. Agr.*, 171).

There was one use to which some of these 'worthy beasts' were put, happily even less familiar to us now, of which we find perhaps some traces in our local records. The 'Bull-garden,' mentioned in one of the Court Rolls of Bramshott of this period, is possibly the place, elsewhere called the bull-ring, in which the popular sport of bull-baiting went on.

Queen Elizabeth found amusement in the cruel pastime, we are told, though Pepys and Evelyn afterwards regarded it as "a rude and nasty pleasure." Public opinion long enforced the practice; butchers were fined even for failing to bait their bulls before they killed them; and at least one charitable benefaction is recorded by which money was left to buy a bull every year which was first to be worried by the dogs and then given to the poor.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Hooke family, connected by marriage with the Mervyns, were in possession of the manor of Bramshott, and held it for nearly a hundred years. Their pedigree, as far as can be made out from the Harleian MSS. and Parish Registers, is given in the Appendix (E iv.). It will be seen that it is traced back only to Dunsfold, but various families of the same name in London, Basingstoke, Chichester, and Surrey—including a Lord Mayor in 1674 and Sir Thomas Hooke, of the Manor of Flanchford, had with slight variations the same coat of arms, which can be seen on a brass in Bramshott Church—a cross between four escallops—and may have been all descended from the Eustace de la Hooke, who is said to have had lands in Hook, near Kingston, in Norman times. John Hooke, the first of the three who held the Manor, was before that lord of Chiltelee (note 21), and owner of lands at Kingsley, near Ludshot, but,

as the homage testified, not actually within that manor. His daughter Ann married, in the church of Bramshott, the celebrated Parliamentarian, John Pym, in 1604, and they had a daughter, Barbara, baptised there two years later. John Hooke himself died in 1613; and the brass which records his memory may be seen on the chancel wall.

His will began in the customary manner. "Knowing that the end of all flesh is death, and nothing is more certain than death and nothing more uncertain than the time of death, now being somewhat distempered in bodie but of good and perfect remembrance . . . confessing my fleshe to bee a most vile and wretched synner . . . I will my bodie to bee buried in my chancell called Bramshott Chancell in Bramshott Church. . . . I give to the poore people of Bramshott and others who shall be at my burial 5 pounds to be distributed amongst them at the discrecion of my Executors and Overseers."

He left 40 shillings to the parish church; 40 shillings to the poor for 4 years to be distributed at the discretion of his "cosen Scott"—the Rector—and his executors in church the Sunday 12 months after his decease. To his "deare and well beloved Barbara his wife" he left 20 pounds, an annuity of one hundred pounds, 3 silver "beare bowles of my best," and other two of a smaller sort, 6 silver spoones, his "little white silver salt and little silver

candle cupp, 12 paire of sheetes, 3 paire of pillow-beares" : the use during her natural life of " 3 fether beddes, 3 fether bolsters, 2 paire of pillows, and 2 ruggs, one of the best and the other indifferent, the use of 2 chambers, to wit, my daughter Deering's chamber with the closett, and the little chamber next unto the court with the closett, with wood and coal to be used in the same chambers as shall seem convenient. . . . I will that my wife shall have her diet with my son Henry during her life and also for her maid and a man, and my son to find her horses when shee shall please to ride, and if she shall not like of her diet, and be pleased to lie with anie of her daughters, then my son shall paie her 120 pounds yearlie." He entered besides into much detail as to the amount of pewter ware, of ordinarie table clothes and worser damask and best diaper table clothes, trunks, chests, good 'quishian' stooles and ordinarie chaires, which should be reserved for his wife's use. To his 3 daughters who had married John Pym, Edward Deering and Edward Faulkner he left 5 pounds apiece, and £600 to his daughter Marye "so that shee be ruled by her mother in her marriage." There were many legacies to others, and "to all the rest of my maids and servants 10 shillings apiece." His son Henry was sole executor and his "deare and loving sonnes John Pim, Nicolas Withers, Marshall Rivers, and cosen Francis Scott

clerk Overseers of this my last will, and for the paines they shall take I give unto each of them 40 shillings."

The son Henry seems to have been a man of energy, and to have developed a local industry, of which more must be said presently, using for that purpose water power at Wakener's Wells and Stanford. In 1624 he served as Sheriff, and in 1631 the Manor of Iping passed into his hands from those of Sir Peter Bettesworth of Milland, whose estates were much encumbered. John Hooke, the third in succession, Esquire of the Privy Chamber to King Charles the First, and High Sheriff in 1649 by a resolution of the Commons (*Journal*, vi. 107), was elected as member of Parliament for Haslemere in 1658; but the return was disallowed by a Committee of the House of Commons on the ground that his majority consisted largely of non-resident voters for the borough, and a rival candidate took his place (*Journal*, vii. 618). He was in Holy Orders later in life, and held both Rectory and Manor. Another of the same name and arms, who was doubtless a kinsman, became an independent minister at Basingstoke. His father had married Jane Whalley, a sister of a regicide judge, whose mother was Frances Cromwell, aunt of the Protector, and he afterwards acted as minister of Taunton, Massachusetts.

John graduated at Harvard University, and, returning with his father to England, obtained preferment from Cromwell, and also a chaplaincy at the Savoy, from which he was ejected as a Separatist. His epitaph of unusual type will be found in a note (22), and the seal appended to his will shews the arms described above. From such data it is natural to assume that the sympathies of the family were on the side of the Parliament in the great struggle (note 23); and the Rector of the Parish, if not of the same politics, might have had no easy time of it. But Thomas Boxal appears by the Register to have continued as Incumbent all through the troubled period, and as he owed the benefice to the Squire's gift he accepted probably the new *régime* without any marked reluctance.

Ludshot Manor had been always, with little interruption, in the hands of the same family, which, under the various names of De Port, St. John, Poynings, and Powlett, held Basing and much besides in Hampshire. During the reign of Elizabeth the courts were held for different members of the Tichbornes and the Knights of Chawton, who came into possession probably by intermarriage. In the seventeenth century Andrew Wall was lord, and seems to have been the first to reside on the estate, where he had a daughter married in 1638, the mansion being at Fir Grove, where the fish ponds and the garden

walls remain to show that a considerable house once stood there.

From the Walls the Manor passed again to families who bore the names of St. John and Powlett, though assumed by men who had been known before as Mews and Mildmays.

A reference has been made already to a form of local industry, which was flourishing and widespread in the neighbourhood at this time, but has since wholly passed away. It may be traced here and there by a place name or two, which point unmistakable to this source : it has left a few traditions of its busy, prosperous times, but its products have been mostly carried off elsewhere, and we have to glean from old records for its history. Through the Weald of Kent and Sussex the iron furnaces stretched in a long line, just passing over the borders into Hampshire, and then abruptly ceasing ; but on the North reaching to Chiddingfold, Frensham, and Witley. In Bramshott there were several centres. One of the hamlets on the Eastern side, and in the Bramshott Manor, still bears the name of 'Hammer,' which is often found elsewhere on the scenes of the old industry. Under the Hookes the works were carried on in Ludshot Manor, where the 'Hammer Iron Pond' and blacksmith's shop were rented by them, together with the coppices of Gentles, which supplied some of the needful fuel. We may with

little doubt recognise the present Paper Mill of Standford and its Pond under that name, and the Parish Registers record the baptism of children of the 'Strangers at the Hammer,' the workmen imported from abroad. Besides this, two lakes at Wakener's Wells were made at the same time, and for the same purpose probably, by flooding the waste which belonged to both the Manors, as the homage of Ludshot formally presented at a Court. The boundary line between the two Manors runs through the lakes in question.

Reference has been already made to Spring Pond, which we may gather from the complaints expressed was made or enlarged by the last of the Hooke family, whose rectorial glebe adjoined it. At Wakener's Wells the growth of woods and agricultural changes have hidden any traces of the works, but at the hamlet of Hammer, on the other side, there was fifty years ago a well-known heap of cinders covered over near the little bridge, and when the road was in specially bad repair—as probably it often was—the old roadman used to dig by the highway and fill up the ruts with the ashes which he knew he could find there. There is reason to believe, indeed, that here as elsewhere the works were carried on at a very remote date. One of the earliest names we read of in the parish is that of a 'Henry atte Cinderheap,' disguised somewhat in the spelling, and

'Cold Ash Hill' may owe its name perhaps to such remains, which have long since disappeared. It is well known that the industry was carried on in the days of Roman occupation, for coins and pottery of certain date have been found in different parts of Sussex, buried among the heaps of clinkers that had been for ages undisturbed. So in the Forest of Dean the ground between Coleford and the River Wye is one immense heap of *scoriae* from Roman forges, and among them 3000 bronze coins were found in a single hoard. To speak also of our neighbourhood, Shotter Mill derives its name from the ironworks which were long carried on there and not abandoned till 1776. A family named Shotter held them in old time under Shulbrede Priory, and as 'Hammer' was close at hand, the forges there were perhaps only an extension of that business. At Lynchmere an osier bed took the place of the head of waters which worked the forges. At Lynch an entry in the *Non. Inquis.* of the 'tithe of iron' records the local industry. The village of Rogate is thought to have "sprung up on the banks of the Rother as a home for the workers in the iron foundries" (Gordon's *Harting*, 40), which were among the largest in the county. At 'Lythe Hill,' on the further side of Haslemere, the Quennals "made gunns and shott for the supply of his Majesty's stores" during the Civil War. One of the Butlers of Bramshott, of whom more presently,

drove a thriving trade with furnaces which he set up at Fernhurst, which was "about the last place where iron was made in W. Sussex." The early activity in this direction was due to the supply both of iron ore and fuel on the spot. In the West the iron was found in the Lower Greensand: in the clay of the Weald the iron rag contained 25 to 30 per cent. of oxide of iron, which had been discovered many centuries before. "This," wrote Dr. Mantell, "was produced by vegetable and animal decomposition in the bed and delta of a mighty river which flowed through countries inhabited by the Iguanodon and other colossal reptiles." The extensive woodlands supplied for a long time the necessary fuel, and the industry continued until this at last became more scarce and dear.

In primitive times "the ore, packed between layers of charcoal, was smelted in tall cylindrical furnaces placed in a position so exposed that the wind supplied the lack of artificial draught or blast." Such arrangements have been found in very distant countries. If there were any furnaces at Cold Ash Hill in early times they were probably of this primitive description. For works on a larger scale a more regular and effective blast was needed, and they were then removed from hilly spots to valleys watered by a stream which could easily be so dammed up as to provide convenient motive force. The dams were

called pond-bays. Such on a small scale would be found at Hammer and at Wakener's Wells, or what was called anciently Downwater. On a much larger scale facilities existed at West Harting, where 180 acres were said to be "flowed at pleasure."

An old writer gives the following account of "the iron-work at the furnace," as quoted by Mr. Lower in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (ii. 169): "The iron mine lies sometimes deeper, sometimes shallower, from 4 to 40 feet and upwards. When the mine is brought in they take small coal (charcoal) and lay a row of it, and upon that a row of mine, and so alternately, one above another, and setting the coals on fire, therewith burn the mine. The use of this burning is to mollify it, that so it may be broken in small pieces, otherwise if it should be put into the furnace, as it comes out of the earth, it would not melt, but come away whole. Care also must be taken that it be not too much burned, for then it will loop, *i.e.* melt and run together in a mass. After it is burnt, they beat it into small pieces with an iron sledge, and then put it into the furnace (which is before charged with coals), casting it upon the top of the coals, when it melts and falls into the hearth, in the space of about 12 hours, more or less, and then it runs into a *sow*. The hearth or bottom of the furnace is made of a sandstone, and the sides round, to the height of a yard, or there-

abouts : the rest of the furnace is lined up to the top with brick. When they begin upon a new furnace, they put fire for a day or two before they begin to blow. Then they blow gently and increase by degrees till they come to the height in ten weeks or more. Every six days they call a *founday*, in which space they make 8 tons of iron, if you divide the whole sum of iron made by the foundays, for at first they make less in a founday, at last more. The hearth, by the force of the fire, continually blown, grows wider and wider, so that at first it contains so much as will make a sow of 6 or 7 hundred pounds weight, at last it will contain so much as will make a sow of 2000 pounds weight. The lesser pieces, of 100 lb. or under, they call *pigs*." In ancient times the ore extracted by rude processes from the Hastings beds was sent down to the coast and thence to London. A tombstone of cast iron of the fourteenth century is said to exist still at Burwash, and still earlier 'Master Henry of Lewes' was paid for the iron work of the monument of Henry III. at Westminster. But the most prosperous time was the 16th and the early part of the 17th century, and in 1643 the forces of Sir William Waller were careful to destroy the works which belonged to the royalists in W. Sussex.

The rapid growth was regarded often with disfavour, and many complaints were made of the

poisonous fumes of smoke and the rapid thinning of the woods. Thus Drayton in his *Polyalbion* :

> These forests, as I say, the daughters of the Weald,
> That in their heavy breasts had long their griefs concealed,
> Foreseeing their decay each hour so fast come on,
> Under the axe's stroke fetched many a grievous groan,
> When as the anvil's weight, and hammer's dreadful sound,
> Even rent the hollow woods and shook the queechy ground;
> So that the trembling nymphs, oppress'd through quaking fear,
> Ran madding to the Downs with loose dishevell'd hair.

In 1570 Archbishop Parker wrote of the erection of certain iron mills, "which plague, I fear, will cause much grudge and desolation." In 1576 an Order in Council was issued to stop the further casting of guns or shot, as the country was sufficiently provided, and foreigners or pirates were being supplied. Again, a little later, it was prescribed that only a fixed quantity of cannon should be cast annually, a certain proportion to be allowed to every founder, but the iron masters evaded the restrictions, for Lord Buckhurst wrote in 1589 to the Justices of Lewes : "Their lordshipps doe see the little regard the owners of furnaces and the makers of these peeces have of their bondes, and how yt importeth the state that the enemy of her majesty should not be furnished oute of the land with ordnance to annoye us." The justices were bidden to make "straighter restraint of making shott and

ordnance." Similar complaints were made in later times of the want of patriotism shown by the iron masters who smuggled guns over to France in time of war. Besides this danger, attention was frequently directed to the widespread destruction of the timber that was needed for shipbuilding and other uses, and in 1585 it was enacted that in all newly erected iron-works the owner was to supply the fuel from his own land only, and that for every six loads of coal or mine, one cart load of cinders should be provided for the repairs of the public roads. Worden, speaking of the great demand for fuel, said: "In Sussex there were near 140 hammers and furnaces for iron, and in Surrey 3 or 4 glass houses, and they spent every 24 hours '2, 3, or 4 loads of charcoal, which in a year amounteth to an infinite quantitie, as you can better account by arithmetique than I.'" In 1591 there was special inquiry made concerning the woods in Harting Combe and iron-works at Rogate, and a mill called Iron Hammer Mill. The supplies for the navy were falling short, while Rogate was taking more than its fair share of wood for smelting, and one Richard Michelborn was alleged to have committed "great spoile and waste of sounde tymber trees of oke in Harting Combe and Nywood" (Gordon, 58). By the 18th century the trade had greatly diminished, the woods had been thinned, and the charcoal was much scarcer,

SUSSEX FIRE BACKS.

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and the competition of the counties in which coal and iron could be found near together was fatal to the once prosperous industry in the south. In 1740 Sussex had only 10 furnaces at work. The range of articles produced was somewhat limited. Besides the military ordnance, of which there is frequent mention from the time when Ralf Hogge was founder to Henry VIII., the grave slabs were produced which may be still seen in some of the churchyards, and the andirons and firebacks, many of which have been in our day transferred from the old farmhouses to the local museums or amateurs' collections. Of these an interesting series of quaint designs may be seen in the 56th volume of the *Archaeologia*. The railings round St. Paul's Church in the Metropolis were sent up early in the 18th century, but they were thought very costly, and accepted and paid for only after long delay. The production consisted mainly of pig-iron and bars.

In the year 1625 there was much excitement in the Southern Counties caused by fear of some hostile descent upon the coast. Pressing orders were despatched by the king's council to the Lords Lieutenant to report upon the military defences in each county. Commissions were issued to the men of standing, the trained bands were mustered and reviewed. The beacons were to be put in good repair, and specified numbers of the horse and foot were to be kept in

readiness to march on such part of the coast as might be threatened with invasion. Every parish had to turn out its fighting men and furbish up its arms. Despatches from the lords in council followed fast and thick, causing no small stir in rural life (Add. MSS. Brit. Mus., 21, 922). Directions were given "for the placinge of the best of the Armes as corslets and muskets on the principallest men and of the best quality fit for service." The residue of the able men as well those that have bowes and bills as the residue utterly unarmed are also to be reported in the Muster Rolls. Henry Hooke, who appears as Captain and as Sergeant Major, had a company drawn from the parishes around, and they marched out to be reviewed on Kingsley Heath. Their ordinary drill was done on holy days or on Sabbath days after evening prayer. Recusants were disarmed, and such weapons as they had were bought up for the king's service. There was a general want of powder, and still more of funds, and subscription lists were opened for the gentry who were willing to lend, as it was phrased, their money to the king. Henry Hooke subscribed ten marks, like others of his standing, and returned the arms that could be furnished for his company as 125 in all, while 24 of his men were quite unarmed. One heading in the military papers that were filed reads strangely now, "Clergies Armour." "The names of all the benefices ecclesiastical in the Countie of South-

ampton appointed." Two years later it was ordered that a certain number of men should be impressed, from every district that supplied a company of the trained bands, to serve as soldiers in the army. Two accordingly were sent from the Alton Company which Henry Hooke commanded. There was little alacrity to serve, and the quality of the recruits left much to be desired, if we are to credit the caustic comments of the officer who inspected them on their arrival at headquarters.

(Letter of Sir George Blundell to the Deputy Lieutenant.)

"I have seen your pressed men, and have sent to the lordes to let them know how forward you are to putt the king to charges to no purpose. You sent for your 200 men about 130 of the basest beggars and the poorest boyes and lousey raskalls that I ever did see for souldiers; I cannot blame you that you desired to rid your countie of them for 16 pence a man. I hope you will never be driven to supply his regiments with such creatures." He complained further that the men were not provided with proper coats, and that many of them had no shoes or shirts: 39 of them were sent back as useless.

The willingness to serve did not increase as time went on, and a few years later when cavalry were needed Henry Hooke himself refused to furnish his light horse. The Rector was not spared, for the Lord

Lieutenant reported that he "had no order to exempt the men or money of the clergie, being so rich and considerable a part of the countrey."

An entry in the Parish Register may serve to illustrate a curious usage which was still enforced.

"Feb. 26, 1639. Whereas Henry Hooke, of Bramshott, in the County of Southampton, Esquire, hath been of a long time, and is still, troubled with a dangerous disease, and advised and willed by his physician to abstain from eating of fish; I Thomas Boxall, in the parish and county aforesaid, clerk, have in virtue of a statute in that behalf provided, granted by these presents a licence unto the said Henry Hooke, to eat flesh and fowl in Lent, as upon all other fasting days, wherein flesh by the statute is forbidden to be eaten, for the better recovery of his former health. He paid to the use of the poor, according to the statute six shillings and eight pence." There is another to the same effect of a later date. The statute under which the licenses were needful was that passed in 1562, which prescribed that "every Wednesday in the week was to be kept as a fish-day as the Saturdays be or ought to be," as also other fast days of the ancient Church, under penalty of a fine of £3 or imprisonment for three months for every case of wilful disobedience. In case of sickness "one competent dish of flesh of one kind and no more" was allowed, and this might

be followed by "three full competent dishes of sea-fish of sundry kinds." The motive of the Act had no religious meaning, but was simply the desire to further the interests of the fisheries, and the seafaring men who might be useful for the Royal Navy. Indeed, to meet the objections of Protestants or inferences drawn by the partisans of the old *régime* it was declared that "those who said the eating of fish and the abstaining from meat was of any necessity for the saving of the soul of man, were to be punished as the spreaders of false news." A later statute warned innkeepers to dress no supper for their guests on Friday night, and municipal anthorities enforced the Acts by local rules. Thus the Corporation of Weymouth as late as 1663 ordered the butchers not to "dress, sell or utter any flesh during the present Lent." The natural result was that all ponds that could be used for the breeding of fish were of greater value, fishmongers raised their prices, though they were enjoined to sell their fish at moderate and usual prices, and the justices were bidden by a Proclamation of 1623 to see that this warning was attended to.

Licenses in case of need to eat flesh on the fast days were to be granted to lords of Parliament for 26 shillings and eight pence, to knights for thirteen and fourpence, and for all others for six shillings and eight pence, which was to be put into "the poor men's box." The enforced diet of fish, even after Lenten

practices had ceased to be observed on the old religious ground, serves to explain the value which attached to the fish-ponds which were made so frequently beside the more substantial houses. They are duly entered on the leases and conveyances of landed property. We can thus trace the existence of many which have disappeared, as at Westlands, where old deeds mention five fish-ponds, and one at the lane end, for the Boxalls who lived there for generations clung to the practices of the old Church. These ponds were important enough for a landowner at a later date to give the use of them for a few years to requite the pains of an Executor. Those which had been made for the iron-works were doubtless stocked with fish and served a double purpose : in other places as at Fir Grove, they were expressly made for the convenience of the manor house. The Hookes, though licensed now and then to give up their fish diet, had been especially keen in making stews and fish-ponds, and were presented repeatedly by the aggrieved commoners of Rogate-Bohunt and Ludshot, who complained that they dammed up the streams, flooded the waste and "fouled the water" with their works (Court Rolls).

There is not much evidence as to the economic conditions of the people of the Parish during the early part of the 17th century. There was more varied employment for the landless labourers now

that the iron industry was developed, there were more gentry resident to find capital, but a subsidy roll of 1628 shows scarcely any more taxpayers than in 1597, and only one third of the number in the reign of Henry VIII., though the taxable minimum was the same and the value of money less. Comparatively large farms seem to have taken the place of the small copyholds which were numerous before. In the same year we are informed that the Justices of Hampshire took measures for the supply of 500 quarters of corn weekly, the charge being defrayed by the various hundreds in specified proportions. A few years before, to meet a time of dearth, the Privy Council had advised the Sheriffs to provide storage room in local magazines, and to certify as to the quantities of corn that could be stored in them. During the course of the Civil War, however, and in following decades, there was marked improvement in the condition of the labouring classes. Wages increased faster than the prices of food, and the rise was steadily maintained, though a series of bad harvests from 1643 to 1652 caused a temporary check to the well-being of the people.

During the whole course of the Civil struggle, so far as we are aware, not a shot was fired in actual warfare in the Parish. Yet, unscathed as it actually was, the dangers and excitements of the times must have been felt keenly even in its quiet

homes. Farnham and Winchester were not far away; the first was in 1643 the headquarters of the Parliamentary forces, the second of the royalists of Hampshire. When they met their neighbours on the market days many an eye-witness may have told his story of how Prince Rupert's horsemen surprised in force, but failed to overpower, in Alton, a company or two of Waller's troopers, and how a few months later the same town was stormed, and the royalists driven to bay in the churchyard, and Colonel Bolle, their leader, slain after a hot fire of hours within the church itself. Soon after came the news how the king's forces, on their way to relieve Arundel, were caught by the enemy at Harting and totally defeated. The tenants of the Rogate-Bohunt Manor must have heard with sympathy and fear of the sufferings of their near neighbours in the South, plundered by the half-starved soldiers, of the Fords of Up Park and the Carylls of Harting Place marched off as prisoners "in the bitter snow." Among the combatants there was a Bettesworth, and therefore probably an eye-witness near at hand at Milland or Trotton to tell the tale. Three months later followed the decisive victory gained at Cheriton by Waller, and the flight of Sir Benjamin Tichborne and his concealment in the hollow oak at West Tisted, which still bears his name. Meantime the Marquis of Winchester, by whose family Ludshot

had been owned for centuries, was holding out bravely for the king at Basing House, and beat off several attacks, till at the end of 1645, when Winchester had already fallen, Cromwell marched against it in overpowering force, and the House that "was called loyalty" was fired and stormed.

Twice only is there distinct evidence that troops were in any force within the Parish. Once, when the Parliamentary soldiers were being drawn together from Chichester and Portsmouth, before the fight at Cheriton in 1643, we read of Sir William Balfour's dragoons at Petersfield and 'Lippocke.' The second time, in December, 1659, when Portsmouth declared for the Parliament, the leaders of the army despatched troops thither at once, and regiments of infantry made a forced march as far as 'Lockup' (Liphook) and Petersfield. Commonly, however, the direct London Road, south of Godalming, seems to have been little traversed by the armies. It was no slight gain to be thus spared the visits of the soldiers on the march. There was often wanton license and disorder, especially in the royal army. Thus we read of the "horrid outrages and barbarities committed by Lord Goring's troops in Hampshire, without distinction of friends or foes, so that those parts which before were well devoted to the king, worried by oppression, wished for the access of any forces to redeem them." So general was the dread

that town clerks or others were sometimes instructed to go out some miles to meet the officers and bribe them to lead their men by without entering the gates.

While troops thus marched and counter-marched around them, the inhabitants of Bramshott must have followed with breathless interest the movements which came only just short of them, and filled with the clash of arms all the market towns with which they were familiar. Their sympathies were probably divided. If Ludshot went with Basing House by virtue of old memories, the Hookes sided with the Parliament. We read, indeed, that among the prisoners taken in Farnham Castle there was "a young gentleman" named Hooke, who when brought up to London was not sent back into confinement like the rest, but handed over to John Pym to be disposed of as he might think best. There can be little doubt that the great statesman used his influence in favour of a young member of the family which had given him a wife. No Christian name is mentioned, and he may have belonged to a branch which lived at Passfield in the Parish. It was not uncommon for near kinsmen to be found on opposite sides in the great struggle; a brother even of the lord of Basing plotted to deliver the fortress to the enemy, and was condemned to do justice on his accomplices as executioner with his own hand.

Many of the old families around, like the Uvedales, Jervoices, Wallops, and Lisles, mainly sided with the Parliament, but of the temper of the farmers and the copyholders little is recorded. It is clear that before the war actually began there was not much local enthusiasm for the royal cause. In 1640 the deputy lieutenants of the county sent in their report that the hundreds of Alton and Odiham for the most part were refusing to pay the cost and conduct money, that many of the men to be impressed for the king's service had run away out of the county, and some present were unfit and had to be refused. It was feared that the soldiers would mutiny for want of pay. Such sympathy as there was for the gallant royalists in Basing House was likely to be cooled by the peremptory demands for contributions in kind or money for the garrison. Thus if warrants did not actually come to Ludshot, they must have heard from friends at Chert close by of the assessment levied on that hamlet which was eleven months in arrears, and for which a sum of £565 was to be paid by the tithing-man within three days, "which if you fail to do, you must not expect any favour, but be left to the mercy of the soldiers, who will take your goods and destroy your houses." A mandate sent to the tithing-man of Lyss spoke of £300 to be sent from Odiham hundred in part payment of the contribution money, and

threatened in case of default of payment a visit of two thousand dragoons. On the other side the amounts levied on the county by the Parliament were heavy, and the billeting of the soldiery was felt to be oppressive. The county folks in some parts rallied in defence of their granaries and homesteads, and tried to form a neutral party under the name of Clubmen, armed only with clubs and flails and sickles, while their banner bore the motto :

> If you offer to plunder or take our cattle,
> You may be sure we'll give you battle.

But it was regarded as a dangerous movement, "stirred up by prests," "countenanced by all the malignant gentry of Hampshire." Some of the Bramshott farmers may have joined the clubmen of Petersfield, who were dispersed by "worthy and religious Colonel Norton" at Loomer's Ash, after which warrant was given to seize "all the principal gentlemen among them to prevent further mischief."

Thomas Boxall, the Rector of Bramshott, lived undisturbed, as far as we know, through the period of trouble. The entries in the Parish Register in his neat handwriting go on without a break till 1653. He must therefore have read in church the Solemn League and Covenant of 1644, and conformed to the Directory, or to what Evelyn calls "extempore prayers after the Presbyterian way," which were to

be substituted for the devotional language of the Prayer Book. The use of this indeed entailed a penalty of £5 up to three years' imprisonment for the third offence. It was provided further, "when any person departeth this life let the body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burials and there immediately be interred, *without any ceremony*." It is not likely therefore that the services at Bramshott were violently disturbed, as in the case of contumacious clergy, such as at Odiham, where some of the garrison of Farnham Castle, coming abruptly in, "presented their pistols at Master Holmes, the minister, saying with a loud impudence, 'Sir, you must come down, for we do not allow of such kind of preaching.'" But this was trifling as compared with the wanton desecration of the churches, as at Upham, where an old Register contains the entry: "Item for cleansing the Church against Christmas after the troops had abused it for a stable for their horses." Elsewhere we read of horses baptised at the fonts, and of the sorry jest that "the Reformation was a thorough one in England, since our horses went to church."

One family at least at Liphook would have heard with sympathy of the outrages committed by the soldiery in the Muniment Room of the Chapter of Winchester. Twice it was subjected to the destructive fury and fanaticism of the Parliamentary troops.

Twice John Chase, the Chapter Clerk, son of Richard Chase, who lived at Burghfields, afterwards the site of the White Hart at Liphook, set to work to arrange in order such remains of the library and records as could be recovered. To his loving care and patient industry may be ascribed the preservation of the interesting documents which still remain there. He had nearly completed his catalogue of the muniments which were left after the first pillage when three years afterwards the second storm caused irreparable damage, but again he set to work, "having obteyned an order from the committee of Parliament for the County of Southampton and sitting in the close of the Church, I began serch and inquirie, and by means made, I found and got into my custody again as followeth." He describes the state of the "Minument house after it was the second tyme by the Army and Soldiery broken up, and all my lidger register books taken away, the Records, Charter deeds, writings and minuments lost, the foundation of the church cancelled, the common seale taken away, and divers of the writings and charters burnt, divers throwen into the River, divers large parchments being made kytes withall to flie in the aire, and many other old books lost, to the utter spoyling and destruction of the same minument and chapter house, many of which deedes and writinges may be supposed to have been kept and layen here

for many hundreds of years, as by the dates herewith taken by me and mentioned in this booke may appere" (*Winchester Cath. Doc.*, ii. 57).

Besides the family of the Chapter Clerk there were others in the Manor House at Bramshott who deplored the danger to which the ecclesiastical antiquities of the diocese were now exposed. A Parliamentary Committee had advised in 1651 that Cathedral Churches should be pulled down, sold, and employed as a stock for the use of the poor. A petition was drawn up to plead in cautious terms that Winchester Cathedral might be spared: "Whereas frequent reports have of late come often to our ears concerning the destroyinge and pullinge downe of Trinitye Church; an auntient and most beautifull structure, the most convenient and spatious place of assemblinge for the hearinge of God's word whear many thousand of Soules may be served and satisfied (if you continue able and faithful ministers among us) with the same spiritual provision, and there beinge noe other place in the citty can contain a third part of that number. . . .

"We therefore out of our zeal for the propagation of the Gospel and not out of any superstitious conceite of holiness in the walls do humbly desire That that goodly Fabrick may continue and be preserved as a place of worship of the onlie true God, and not be made a heape of stones and rubbish,

like that which is commonly called the Temple of Dagon neare adjoining to it; Thus we shall looke on you as second Founders and livinge pillars of it (to support being as glorious a thinge as to erect) and in that and in all other places you shall have the fervent prayers of your humble petitioners" (*W.C.D.*, ii. 97).

A subscription list was drawn up to advance money for repairs, and among those who head the list appears the name of John Hooke, with those of his neighbours Thomas Bettesworth and Sir Thomas Jervoyce, known partisans of Parliament.

The Squire of Bramshott seems, however, to have readily accepted an Order of the Government which ruled in 1653 that marriages should be solemnized henceforth before a Justice of the Peace, after due publication of the banns, "on three several Lord's days at the close of the morning exercise in the publique meeting place commonly called the Church or Chappel or in the Market Place next to the said Church or Chappel on three Market days between 11 and 12. . . . No other Marriage whatsoever within the Commonwealth of England shall be held or accompted a Marriage according the laws of England." A 'Register' (*sic*) was to be appointed and approved by a Justice, who was to attend at such marriages, and be called the Parish Register, having the custody of a book to be provided in which "births,

marriages and burials should be entered." The Justice was to give certificates and his clerk to have 12 pence for each. Thus there is an entry in the Register of Alton in the year 1654: "A marriage intended to be made between Thomas Bullock, son of Robert Bullock of the town of Alton and Ann Sylvester, daughter of Maria Sylvester of Tystwad (Tisted) widdow, which was first published upon the 12th day of March. The marriage was solemnized before Mr. Hooke one of the Justices of the Peace for the Countie and some others upon the 13th day of Aprill." The solemnity in question was a very simple one. The man took the woman by the hand and distinctly pronounced these words: "I A.B. do here, in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, take thee C.D. for my wedded wife, and do also in the presence of God and before these witnesses, promise to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband." Corresponding words were pronounced also by the woman. It was natural that such changes should not be welcome to the clergy, and after the Restoration they expressed their feelings sometimes strongly in their parish books. Thus one entry is as follows: "Maryinge by justices, election of registers by parishioners, and the use of ruling elders, first came into fashion in the time of rebellion, under that monster of nature and bloody

tyrant Oliver Cromwell." And again: "Levellers and phanaticks, by what was above writt, but thro' shame blotted out, blush not at their own rushing into other men's offices,—a bold but witless Justice of the Peace, makes his neighbouring ministers cyphers, whilst he forceth the king's subjects (quite against the graine) to elect and he to confirm a mere layman in the office of Parish Register." There is a break at this date in the Registers of Bramshott. A special book was kept for the purpose after the change described above, and this book, kept by lay hands and discontinued at the Restoration, has been since lost. From the year 1653 to 1665 no entries can be found. Even afterwards the registers were for some years badly kept by a variety of penmen. The writing is very slovenly and the spelling more than usually loose and fitful, Rafell taking the place of Raphael, and dafeter, dafter, dauthur, daugter, being rapidly interchanged.

In the introduction by W. Bray to the diary of John Evelyn it is said that though his father was a man of considerable fortune, the first rudiments of the son's learning were acquired from the village schoolmaster over the Porch of Wootton Church. Such a school adjunct to the Church there was long ago at Bramshott, as may be seen in the woodcut in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1795, and this may have been there in the days of the Commonwealth.

BRAMSHOTT CHURCH AND SCHOOLROOM.

BRAMSHOTT CHURCH IN THE 18TH CENTURY. [To face p. 194.

It certainly stood in 1677, and was under the care of the churchwardens, who paid 9s. 3d. for nails for the church and the 'Schoolhouse,' as was entered in their accounts. It was in the Porch opposite that in early days the first part of the Marriage service was usually read, as in the case of Edward I. at Canterbury (*in ostio ecclesiae versus claustrum*) and the Will of Henry VI. provided for "In the south side of the body of the Church a fair large door with a porch, and the same for christening of children and weddinges." So women after child-birth knelt first at the door, and were then led up to the Chancel of the Church. If the Schoolhouse stood there already it was needed, for the catechising of the young ceased universally in the Parish Churches, "so as people had no principles and grew very ignorant of even the common points of Christianity" (Evelyn). The clergy of the Church of England might not, however, teach in schools.

There is reason to believe that Protestant feeling worked some havoc at this time in the parish church. The Manorial families of the Bramshotts, Pakenhams, and Mervyns can hardly have failed to raise some permanent memorials of their dead in the form of brasses or of painted windows. Of the latter certainly there were many fragments left when a visitor at the end of the eighteenth century described the church in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Of the former

very few remain. Probably the figures and so-called Popish expressions "*Orate pro anima*" were often fatal to them, and fanatics went about the country with the troopers, breaking the windows and stripping the brass off the stones, as Dowsing did at Cambridge, when he broke down "80 Popish pictures" in one place, and Jessop at Lowestoft, when "there were taken up in the middle ayl 12 pieces belonging to 12 generations of the Jettours" (*Burn's Parish Reg.*, p. 102).

The Parliamentarian sympathies of the Hooke family seem to have been well known, and their influence was successfully exerted in 1650 in favour of Anne, wife of Thomas Hooke, and others, who had a claim upon a forfeited estate. An ordinance of the Lords and Commons, passed March 31, 1643, had ordered that the estates of all persons who had raised or should raise arms against the Parliament, or had contributed aid to the king's forces, should be seized and sequestered. This was further extended to the cases of those who absented themselves from their homes and to Popish recusants convicted. Christopher Lewknor, formerly Recorder of Chichester and prominent royalist in that city, had lately purchased a mansion-house and lands at Lyss, which were charged with an annuity and other payments to the Hookes. The estate was now sequestered, and the security of the debts endangered. They petitioned therefore

through John Hooke to be relieved from any prejudice caused by Lewknor's delinquency, and in consequence Grove Farm, Lyss, was bought from the 'treason trustees' in lieu of the debt which had been secured upon it (*State Papers*, *Cases for Compounding*, p. 2573). Further evidence of the good repute which they enjoyed was given, when on June 1, 1658, John Hooke and John Corbett of Bramshott were added to the Commission in the county of Hampshire "for ejecting scandalous ignorant and insufficient ministers." An ordinance had been passed in 1654, and commissions of 15 to 20 appointed in each district to receive articles against such as were "common haunters of taverns," frequent in playing at cards or dice, users of the book of Common Prayer, or who encouraged Whitsun Ales or Wakes or Stage players, or published disaffection to the government, or "omitted the public exercise of preaching." There were natural complaints that the informers' charges were listened to with prejudiced ears, and that the proceedings at the trials were a mere travesty of justice. Evidence was taken against the incumbents of several of the parishes around, but Bramshott enjoyed peace.

IX.

AFTER THE RESTORATION.

One of the first steps taken by the Government after the Restoration was to impose a tax of a novel kind, called the Hearth-money, and from some of the lists of the tax-payers which remain we are enabled to estimate the numbers of the houses in each district, and to some extent the condition of their inmates.

A sum of two shillings was imposed in 1662 on every firehearth or stove throughout the land, except hospitals and almshouses whose annual income did not exceed ten pounds, and furnaces and forges; those householders only being exempted who, on the ground of poverty, were free from church or poor-rate. A return was to be made in every district by the occupiers to the tithing-man, whose business it was to verify the accounts, and then hand them over to the Justices, whose clerk enrolled them with the rest. The tax was very odious to the people. Regarded as an impost of French origin it hurt the

national pride, and the 'chimney men,' as they were called, or the agents of the Collectors to whom the revenue was farmed, were unwelcome visitors in many a home over which the earlier Subsidies had lightly passed. "Much clamour," says Pepys, "against the chimney money, and the people say they will not pay it without force." The popular dislike is implied in the language of the Act of 1690, which abolished it "in order to erect a lasting monument of their Majesties' goodness in every hearth in the kingdom." An Epitaph of 1688 expresses the same sentiment in lighter vein :

> A home she hath, it's made of such good fashion,
> A tenant ne'er shall pay for reparation ;
> Nor will her landlord ever raise the rent,
> Or turn her out of doors for non-payment ;
> From chimney money, too, this cell is free ;
> To such a house who would not tenant be ?

But for the exemption of the poorer householders the outcries against the tax would have been much louder. The year 1661-2 was one of excessive dearth. The prices of wheat were at least double what they had been but a few years before ; they rose indeed as high as 92 shillings a quarter in one month, and the widespread famine may have prepared the way for the visitations of disease which were to follow. The tax lists were written out in full detail, the names of all the householders being

given, the number of their fireplaces in each case, and at the end the dwelling-houses which were exempted from the tax, for the most part those of the landless labourers of the time. It appears that in 1685 there were 554,631 houses which had only one hearth, for many of which the tax was paid. The average for the whole county of Southampton was two hearths to a house.

But the tithing-man, on whom the Act devolved the duty of checking the returns, was a manorial official, and the names are therefore grouped under the several manors, and not brought together for each Parish on one page. When, as in the cases of Rogate-Bohunt and Oakhanger, only fragments of a Manor are included in a Parish, it is not easy to ascertain the number of the cottage tenements embraced in them, though the names of the farmers and copyholders may be known from other sources. In the first list which we have, 20 houses in Bramshott Manor paid the tax, 6 were exempted; in Chiltelee there were 15, with 6 not chargeable; in Ludshot there were 14, with 12 that were not rated. There were, therefore, in the three together 49 substantial tenants, and half as many day-labourers or artisans. If we add an approximate number for the outlying portions of Rogate-Bohunt and Oakhanger we shall have at least 100 houses at the time in the whole Parish. The Manor House of Bramshott had 15

chimneys, and Dame Hooke, the widow of the last lord, had 7 in her home ; in Ludshot, Andrew Wall had 11, and the two largest houses in Chiltelee had 8 and 7 respectively. Most of the occupants of the smaller houses belonged to the old families, which for many generations past had lived upon the land, and from this time we can distinguish the several farms, and trace the fortunes of the tenants, for we have now for comparison the Church Registers as well as the Overseers' accounts, and occasionally the tax-collectors' rolls. It is interesting, from time to time, to look over these local records, in order to see how the parish was affected by the grave troubles that were felt elsewhere. As the Great Plague of 1348 left no traces in the writings of our Manor Courts, so the Parish seems to have suffered little from the pestilence of 1667, which was elsewhere so disastrous. Five deaths only are registered in the Parish books that year, though Evelyn notes in his diary that 406 died of it in his own parish, and at Winchester on account of it all intercourse with the outer world was stopped, and the terrified inhabitants were shut up in the city. Cartloads of dead bodies were carried daily to Magdalen Down, and buried there in a promiscuous heap. The large mounds on the hill remind the passers-by of the havoc of the plague. The obelisk outside the West Gate was erected on the spot to which the markets were

transferred, when the purchaser dropped his money into a cistern of water, while the owner of the goods, brought thither from the country, stood at a safe distance. The basis of the obelisk is the "very stone on which | exchanges were made | whilst the city laid under the scourge | of the destroying pestilence."

The Funeral Registers at this period are unusually lengthy, and enter into details of which notice may be taken, as they illustrate some usages of more than local interest. From 1678 to 1730 a special book was kept "for all the burials within the Parish of Bramshott since the Act of Parliament for burying in woollen, commencing August the first." The object of the Act was the encouragement of a native industry by "the lessening of the importation of linen from beyond the seas." We are told also that in consequence "200,000 lbs. of rags were saved annually from corruption in the grave, and passed into the hands of the manufacturers of paper." Affidavit was to be made within eight days after a death before a Justice of the Peace or a minister of religion that the deceased was buried only in wool, and the certificates registered duly, and attested by two witnesses, were formally examined by two Justices from time to time. In default of such an affidavit a fine of £5 could be exacted, a part of which was received by the informer. Several examples of such

fines are entered. Sometimes it was personal prejudice that refused obedience to the law : there were families that repeatedly submitted to the fine, in the spirit of the lines of Pope, on Mrs. Oldfield the actress :

> Odious! in woollen! 't would a saint provoke,
> Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke.
> No, let a charming chintz and Brussels lace
> Wrap my cold limbs, and shade my lifeless face.

Sometimes it was mere carelessness, as when the keeper of an ale-house at Liphook, where a passing traveller had died, was fined for his neglect to make the legal affidavit. At another time we find in the overseer's accounts : " Paid John Hore for taking is afedavd for pore man that did at Anker 1 sh." The entry is commonly business-like and brief, but occasionally there is more verbiage, as when a " labourer maketh oath that the corps of a child of his, lately deceased, was not putt in wrapt or wound up, or buried in any shirt shift sheet or shroud, made or mingled with flax hemp silk or hair, gold or silver, or other than what is made of sheep's wool, nor in any coffin lined or cased with any cloth stuff, or anything whatsoever made or mingled with flax hemp silk hair gold or silver, or any other material but sheep's wool only."

Another noticeable feature is the number of the so-called Quakers, who were brought from all the

country round to be interred within the parish—a practice which begins in the same year as the enforced burial in wool. Some thirty years before George Fox had started on his missionary journeys in the undoubting trust that he was commissioned to declare God's message to mankind. It was the mystic's doctrine of the 'Inward Light,' which was to dispense entirely with Liturgies and Sacraments and official ministries. His earlier revolt was mainly against the Calvinistic teachings and the formalities of the Puritans, who were then dominant; but his conflict with authority was largely due to his objections to judicial oaths and the 'hat worship,' as he fancifully called some of the customs of common courtesy. The movement spread rapidly in spite of frequent persecution. "In 1664 some inhabitants of Alton were excommunicated by the Vicar, and others in the 'Steeple-house' at Froyle," is an entry in the archives of 'the Friends' at Alton. So, again, "the 10th day of the 5th month 1670 wee were mett againe, and as wee were waiting upon God, James May with two more called Justices came to us in ye house of Moses Neave in Alton, and pulled us out of ye meeting, and because friends would not depart at their command, severall were abused, and they commanded Nicholas Gates should be carried away, who was by 3 or 4 carried home, and so they did for severall dayes so yt in many months we had not a meetting within doors

quietly, but were kept out in all weathers" (Curtis, *Hist. Alton*, p. 134). The meeting-house at Alton was built for them about that time, and soon afterwards a burial-ground was provided for them in the parish of Bramshott, to which, year after year, bodies were brought from other places. Only one or two families, as far as can be traced, within the parish definitely joined them. The principal was that of the Streeters, who had been long resident at the Hill house, on the road from Liphook to Passfield Common, the traces of which have only lately disappeared. They were rising from copyholders to a social position recognised as 'gentleman' in the Parish Registers, occupying afterwards Fir Grove, the largest house then in Ludshot. Several of this family, together with those of a son-in-law named Woods, a merchant of London, who afterwards settled here, were brought to "the Quakers' burying ground" to be interred. So also were the Vallors of Eveley and some Hounshams, and more from Headley, where the new community mustered many converts. Others came from Petersfield and Lyss and Godalming. The tiny cemetery at Fir Grove, close to what had been the manor house of Ludshot, was conveyed by Henry Streeter in 1718 for the term of 1000 years to trustees for the use of the people called Quakers. There had been, however, interments there long before. There are no traces now of any graves

within the space which, on three sides, is only partially enclosed with a low wall scarcely rising above ground. In accordance with their general usage, and with the advice given in 1717 in one of their annual letters of direction, few memorials of any kind were erected. The passer-by would therefore be quite unaware that so many of the deceased—at least 50 in a few years—were brought from their distant home and laid by loving hands in that quiet spot, where there is nothing to recall the history of the past.

It will be remembered that in 1572, when irregular contributions were found insufficient for the relief of local poverty, the Justices were empowered to appoint Overseers and enforce the payment of a Poor Rate. This was not indeed always acted on. At Southampton, till long afterwards, the churchwardens collected what they could, and paid over to the Mayor the sums in hand. At Bramshott the Overseers were certainly in office in 1666, and from that time their accounts were formally drawn out and deposited in the Parish Chest, and of these a few examples will be found in the Appendix (F). They were nominated at the Easter Vestry, each of them to represent a distinct tenement, on which the burden of official work was to fall in due rotation. We can thus identify the various farms and holdings, together with the more important houses in the Parish, which retain

for the most part the same names, many of which were derived from the old families who had lived in them in generations past. The number of these different holdings is almost as large as that of the inhabitants who had to pay the hearth-money which was described above. It seems to have been larger certainly than that of the landless cottagers, who when sick or impotent or aged came upon the Poor Rate. So close was the connexion between each tenement and the turn in office, that widows in possession of a farm were expected to undertake the duties, if they had no son old enough to serve. The following lines of *Crabbe's Register* may illustrate the usage, and shew with what ability some were believed to fill the office :

> No parish business in the place could stir
> Without direction or assent from her ;
> In turn she took each office as it fell,
> Knew all their duties and discharged them well.
> The lazy vagrants in her presence shook,
> And pregnant damsels feared her stern rebuke.

The duties of the Overseer fell in the main under two separate heads. He had to take the necessary steps for the relief of native poverty ; he was required also to be vigilant in checking the intrusion of aliens who were likely to become a charge and burden to the parish. As regards the second of these duties his hands were strengthened in 1662 by the 'Settlement Act,' which was the foundation of much later legisla-

tion. Its principle indeed was not a novel one. For a century the local authorities—especially in boroughs—had strained their powers to prevent the influx of questionable new-comers. Inn-keepers had been fined for harbouring needy strangers; householders were ordered to dismiss their maids; married women were forbidden to take in homeless sisters; charity was sternly checked where there seemed a risk of future burdens to the district. How far the peremptory action could be carried may be seen in the following Order issued by the Quarter Sessions at Beaminster. "It is ordered by this court that Mr. Jefferies, parson of Beere Hackett, within this county of Dorset, clerk, shall, within one month next, give securitie to the overseers of the poore of the said parish of Beere Hackett, to defend them in time to come against anie charge or burthen which maie arise or be, by reason that he hath received into the said parish one Christopher Sprage, a man of no worth, with seaven children and three apprentices, verie likely to be chargeable to the parish; which, if he shall refuse to do, that then the said overseers shall have power, by vertue of this order, to rate the said Mr. Jefferies to the poor at 11s or 11s vid per week more than his ordinary rate, and so to continue untill he shall remove them out of the said parish" (Roberts, *Social Hist.*, p. 183). We shall see presently to what extent the overseers of Bramshott shewed their

vigilance in dealing with the vagrants and the homeless. The Act of 1662 declared that "poor people . . . do endeavour to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the best *stocke*, the largest commons or wastes to build cottages, and the most woods for them to burn and destroy, and when they have consumed it, then to another parish, and at last become rogues and vagabonds, to the great discouragement of parishes to provide stockes, when it is liable to be devoured by strangers." It was now made lawful, on the complaint of overseers, for two justices to remove by warrant any person who took any tenement under the yearly value of £10, within 40 days after his arrival, to the place where he or she was last settled, unless security was given that there would be no charge to the parish in which the newcomer wished to live. The rental fixed was quite a high one, higher than that of any house but one in Bramshott at the beginning of the last century, and would therefore include far more than the labouring poor. Adam Smith's indignant comment on this Act may here be noticed. "To remove a man who has committed no misdemeanour from the parish where he chooses to reside, is an evident violation of natural liberty and justice. The common people of England, however, so jealous of their liberty, but like the common people of most other countries, never rightly understanding wherein it consists, have

now for more than a century together suffered themselves to be exposed to this oppression without a remedy."

The word 'Stocke' used in the Act may require perhaps some explanation. It had been ruled that in order to find remunerative work for the able-bodied poor a sum of money might be laid out in the purchase of flax, on which the women could ply their spinning wheels, and others weave it into cloth. The gentry also were encouraged to buy flax and employ the cottagers to spin it. In populous districts funds were employed in this way by a widespread appeal to the whole neighbourhood to help. Thus in behalf of Winchester the following letter shews that the cry for assistance came as far as Bramshott.

"Winchester House of Correction
14 Martii 1579.

A letter to the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace in the County of Southampton, that whereas to the great charges of that countie they have heretofore erected a House of Correction at Winchester according to the Statute for the settinge on worke of idle and vagrant persones, forasmuch as their Lordships are geven to understande that for want of a competent Stocke to be employed in the mayntenance of the said idle persones in learning their sundrie mysteries there can be no use of the said House, the contribucion

levyed heretofore by vertue of their Lordships' letters unto the Clergie of that Shire amounting but to C markes, and the stocke necessarilie required being Vcli, they are required, for perfecting of that so godlie and necessarie a worke, to make choice among themselves of fower or five such persones as for their discrecions may be thought fittest, to whom the care of a collection for that purpose maie be committed, who maie levie the said contribucion by sparinge of the meaner sort of that countie, and drawing by perswacion the best able to contribute that which is requisite &c. &c." (Bewes, *Church Briefs*, 76).

It was long before our rural parishes felt any need of such a 'stocke.' At the beginning of the period, when the first definite accounts were kept, the poverty to be relieved was comparatively slight, and the burden far from costly. A sum of £18 13s. 0d. sufficed in 1669 to meet the need. Only two old folks had their board paid for the whole year at 2 shillings a week apiece, for whom also stockings, coats and canvass sheeting cost a little ; one other was relieved for a few months of sickness ; £1 was given as house rent to a fourth, and the rest was spent in cutting peat and carrying it to the cottages of some widows. It is painful to contrast this picture with the state of things a century and a half later, when mismanagement and bad laws had done their fatal work, and as our local records are very

full, the several stages may be described in some detail.

The first Account book of the overseers spreads over only 20 years, and ends in 1689, in which time the regular recipients of relief had increased from 2 to 8 or 9, and the whole amount expended from £17 to £52. The total poor rate for the country about this time, according to Davenant, was £665,362, and it has been calculated that this amounted to a rate of 2 shillings and 8 pence per head of population, which was then about 5 millions. There cannot have been fewer than 100 houses in the Parish of Bramshott on the evidence of the house-tax returns described above, and this would mean barely 500 residents. The local charge, therefore, seems to have been below the average. The entries of the overseers deal with the loads of peat cut and the bushels of rye given to the old folks, and the linsey woolsey bought for "under waskets for them, and the fiseke and shoos and stokns and shurts" provided, and the "peticoat and 2 aperns" for a boy. They see that the thatch on the cottages is kept watertight, and that there is due "letting of blood" from time to time according to the practice of the age, they pay for "the plowing of Widow Stillaway's paddock" and for "the schooling of Jarlat's son." Occasionally there is a fuller entry. "Paid a messenger to go to Chichester for William Smith when his wife was sick with the poxe 2s. 6d.,

and paid for things for his wife till he came home, a loafe 2d., a pound of sugger 3d., haufe a legge of moton 5d., trekell and sauffern 2d." Or such a mysterious entry as "paid to John Tribe for to kepe him out of prison, which is a very pore man 28s." So far there is little notice of any vagrants or needy travellers on the road. This seems more the concern of the churchwardens, who note in their accounts that they have given "2d. to a solger" and "to 40 passengers this year 5s. 11d.," and have spent 3s. in carrying away of soldiers that had the small pox, and have bestowed 6d. on "2 men and ther fammoles which had ther houses burnt." The sums spent by them in such charity to strangers do not seem excessive; indeed, the whole amount expended reached only a modest figure. Even in 1679, when "a new pulpit and cannipe" cost 45s., the whole outlay for the year was £6 10s., which included the visitation fees and the "reggester" and the "pareter" (apparitor), as also 4s. 6d. for the clerk's wages, and 4d. for "mending the 'church liton' gate" (lic-toun = enclosure for bodies, cf. Lichfield and lich-gate).

It is not easy to see any distinct principle in the apportionment of parochial expenses between the churchwardens and the overseers. During the 17th century, at any rate, the former undertook the charges of mending the village stocks and strengthening the pound gates, both of which seem very secular con-

cerns. They paid the "Quarteridge money" to the constable, and 18s. "for going to Winchester Sheshones," and twice in a single year they paid for beer all round "when the Parish met" at the Anchor at Liphook. "The fox ketcher" had his shilling from them, as before the verminer and others had their fees "for misse heades, rattes heades and crowes heades," according to the statute of Elizabeth for the destruction of "noyfull fowles and vermyn." There were, of course, a few items that specially concerned the Church, as when a new surplice cost the large sum of £2 17s. 6d., being full probably of pleats and gathers, and laths and tiles were needed for the roof, "paid to the brickburner for ware," or "for nailes as Apeers by bill," together with bread and wine for the quarterly communions, and 8½d. pentecost money, the later name of the "smoke pennies" of early date. Church-cleaning is an infinitesimal charge, but it may come under "disbost at sevrel times 3s. 6d." There is nothing at all for warming. Burials for the more privileged took place in the chancel and the transepts, once even in the belfrey, which sounds strangely, but must mean the space under the tower arch. A little whitewashing ('whiteliming') was done from time to time, but the interior must have been very damp and dreary, the cobwebs hanging from the rafters of the roof, where often "the sparrow had found her an house and the

swallow a nest where she might lay her young," rubbish stowed away in the corners out of sight, and the square pews of the notables, requiring the occasional attentions of the clerk to "salt the fleas."

What Cowper wrote half a century later was beginning to be true of some parishes at least. "It is no uncommon thing to see the parsonage house well-thatched, and in exceeding good repair, while the church perhaps has scarce any other roof than the ivy that grows over it. The noise of owls, bats, and magpies, makes a principal part of the church music in many of these ancient edifices; and the walls, like a large map, seem to be portioned out into capes, seas, and promontories, by the various colours with which the damps have stained them" (*Connoisseur*, No. 134).

Church folk of those days, as has been said, would have had little to disturb them in the Oriental curse, "May the grave of your ancestors be defiled," for in the 'church-yard,' or 'God's acre,' the beasts of the field were often allowed to roam to keep down the luxuriant growth of grass and docks and nettles on which no scythe was ever used. The unsightly railings that fence in here and there some of the larger tombstones may still remind us of the not very distant times when the memorials of the dead could only thus be safeguarded from such rough intruders. No wonder that the rest were very plain and simple:

paving-stones raised erect with scarcely a Christian symbol on them, or huge square blocks on which Hogarth's idle apprentice lolled at ease, for these might be befouled, but were too solid to be wrecked.

There was a curious tax at this time which did not appear in the accounts, as it was paid directly by the people. In May, 1695, dues were granted for 5 years to the Crown, as follows: 4s. on every burial, 2s. at a birth and 2s. 6d. for a marriage; and 1s. for every bachelor over 25 years of age, and every childless widower. The amount of the tax increased with the amount of property possessed up to the rank of a Duke, who paid £50 for a marriage or a burial and £30 for every birth.

In the year 1683 a Royal Proclamation was brought to Bramshott, and duly paid for by the Overseers, to this effect: "By the grace and blessing of God the Kings and Queens of the Realm for many ages past have had the happiness by their sacred touch and invocation of the name of God to cure those who were afflicted with the disease called the King's evil, and his now most Excellent Majesty in no less measure than any of his Royal predecessors hath had good success therein." It goes on, however, to provide that a certificate should be brought in every case from the parsons or churchwardens that the person who came had not been touched before. No less than

92,000 persons had been touched in this way between 1660 and 1682. A piece of gold with a hole in it was given in each case, to be hung round the sufferer's neck with "silk strings and ribbons" provided by the parish, and some, it was believed, were brought more than once by parents who valued the money if they were doubtful of the cure. The custom was said to have begun with Edward the Confessor, and was only dropped finally by George the First. The so-called King's evil was a glandular disease, and the sufferers were examined first by the King's Surgeon, and then knelt before the King, who touched them on both cheeks, while a Secretary who sat beside him hung round their necks the 'angels'—or the coins so named from the figures stamped upon them—with the ribands of white silk provided for the purpose (*Gentleman's Mag.*, Dec., 1829).

About this time there were important changes in the parish. John Hooke, Squire and Rector, died at the age of 80 in 1685, and was succeeded by Henry, who sold, however, the advowson to Queen's College, Oxford, at the end of the same year for £525. His son, John Hooke of St. Edmund's Hall, was party to the sale, and the close connexion which existed between Queen's College and St. Edmund's Hall, of which he was a member, may explain the transfer of the benefice to that society. Henry Hooke retained the Manor only a few years longer, and in 1691 John

Whitehead took his place. The causes of the retirement of the Hookes do not appear.

It has been remarked that most of the farms bore the same name as at present. The inns also come now into view, especially the 'Anchor' and the 'Crown' or 'Ship' kept by a certain Stone and Gass, whose poor rate was £1 6s. and 6s. 8d. respectively. At the former house Samuel Pepys stayed for a night in 1668 on his way to Portsmouth, and found 'good honest people' in charge of it. The 'Bell' also existed at this time near the church, and part of the glebe land that lies nearest to it is still called 'the Bell-field.' The 'Thorns' and 'Dragon' are mentioned later on in the accounts, but there is no certain evidence of such early date regarding them.

If we turn to the condition of the cottagers it will be remembered that the Act of 1563 had given authority to the Justices to regulate the wages of all kinds of labour. The Quarter Sessions Assessments which exist prove that the power was systematically used, and that little heed was taken of the sliding scale which they were expected to observe in relation to the prices of the necessities of life. Statistics shew that so far as the day-labourer was dependent upon constant work for wages, he was much worse off at the end of the seventeenth century than at the beginning. Wages and prices had both risen, but the increase of the latter was by far the greatest.

THE RECTORY LANE BY THE BELLFIELD. [To face p. 218.

Rents meantime were nearly doubled, and the land-owning interest enabled its tenants to secure cheap labour. The assessments of course varied, and were more liberal in the South than in the North of England, but the natural tendency to migrate in quest of higher wages was peremptorily checked by the Law of Settlement in 1662, and landless farm labourers were therefore at the mercy of their employers, when the Justices did not protect them. In a striking calculation made by Gregory King, as reported by Davenant at the end of the century, it is reckoned that more than two millions of the people diminished the nation's wealth, as estimated merely by their saving power. The class included labourers, whose income he considered to fall short of the bare necessities of life. The productive value of their industry was not at the moment taken into account, nor the injustice of their scanty share in the division of the produce. It is only quoted here to illustrate the contemporary sense of the depression of the wage earners in the rural districts. King reckoned the average earnings of the farm labourer as £15 15s. a family, and their expenditure as perforce to be supplemented by the poor rates. Domestic industries, and the proceeds of their labour on their own allotments, and the advantages of common rights where they existed on a large scale as at Bramshott, were not taken by him into account, and these for a time

retarded the sure influence of the depressing causes (Rogers' *Agr. Prices*, iv. 91). The Overseers' accounts suffice to prove that their condition steadily grew worse, for the burden on the rates was heavier. It should be noted that the end of the seventeenth century, from 1693 to 1699, was a period of very serious dearth, and thus had its natural effect upon the poorest class.

A county gentleman named Worlidge, one of whose family was brought from Petersfield to be buried in the Quakers' ground at Bramshott, may have done something by his personal influence to improve the methods of cultivation in this neighbourhood; in any case his writings are of interest, as they illustrate the changes that were going on and the improvements still to be effected. He insists on the importance of increased supplies from the pastures for the winter feeding of the stock, and urges that water meadows, flooded by artificial means, should be still further increased. In *Domesday* times there were only two acres of meadow in the Manor of Bramshott, and the valley through which the Wey winds its sinuous course can have been comparatively little used for pasturage. Ratford was so called, it seems, from the reeds that grew there, and cattle were lost among the marshes centuries later, as appears from the Court Rolls. The change to the present system may have been already carried out

there while Worlidge lived; it was certainly one of the improvements of the age, and now a water bailiff (*ballivus aquarum*) is elected for the Manor. Worlidge strongly urged the use of artificial grasses to get rid of the old practice of fallows, as well as to provide winter food; as also root crops which were being only slowly introduced in England from the more advanced agriculture of Holland. "It is," he says, "a very great neglect and deficiency in our English husbandry that this particular piece (*i.e.* turnip-sowing) is not more prosecuted, seeing that the land it requires need not be very rich . . . and that it supplies the great want of fodder that is usual in the winter, not only for fatting beasts, but also for our milch kine." Tusser, on the contrary, in 1573, had only mentioned turnips as "a kitchen garden root to boil or butter," and knew nothing of artificial grasses, and said little of manure; but Barnaby George a little later spoke of clover as "a Moorish grass which the Spaniards introduced."

X.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The second and fourth volumes of the Overseers' Accounts have disappeared. The third includes the period from 1722 to 1744. The fifth spreads over the years from 1764 to 1788. Already at the beginning of the former the amount expended has increased to £103 5s. 3d., collected in 4 rates, and for 20 years it remained about the same. The recipients of regular relief—widows for the most part—are not much more numerous, but the payments are somewhat larger, and what are called the "extreornary disbursments" are much heavier. These are not always easy to explain, for the spelling is very wild, as when we read "paid for bread and keikes attye Grouning," and paid the "cuncoll fiee" (constables' fee), and "graftin of hoas" (stocking mending), or "paid Wm. Betsworth for 2 ear for ye hapene Hacks" (Acts). There are many more "gornys" wanted as "for medson at Petersfield +, a

bottel of water, 2s." ; and others on business which involve a bill "for likor and eating, 12s.," or "for beer about concluding a warrant," when they have to travel to Alton, or ask the Justices for their instructions in hard cases. More illegitimate children become a charge upon the parish ; cottagers are paid to house and tend their near relations as "Thomas Booker for keeping of his Dafter, 10s." ; and hasty marriages are forced on and expensive licenses procured—"a lisonce and marring, 34s.," or later on as much as 55s.—to avert the burdens of the future. It does not yet become official work tied down by stringent rules. An old man has his regular allowance for tobacco, which is entered month by month, and charges such as "10s. to the miller by consent of the parish for looking after his hogg" would scarcely be paid by a relieving officer of the present. The pressure on the Overseers was greater to house as well as board the indigent ; vacant cottages were not always to be found, and in 1726 an 'almshouse,' or 'parish house,' was found, which cost £45 1s. 9d. Hitherto they had merely paid for the rent of the cottages already occupied by the old folks who were upon their hands ; now they are empowered by an Act of 1722 to purchase or hire special houses, and contract for the maintenance of the poor there lodged. Any who refused to enter such a house were to be struck off the list of those entitled to relief. One

old woman next year was carried to the 'Alms House,' but the rent was still paid for most of the others on the list. From the small sum spent on the Alms House it would seem to have been merely hired, but in 1780 a house was bought for two old men near Pophale, in Hammer.

An entry or two made by one of our Overseers in 1726 seems to need some comment. "Paid 2s. 6d. for a journey to Guildford to see the statute concerning putting on the badges," and again "for making the badges £1 4s." As the applications for relief had grown more frequent, it was thought desirable to mark the recipients in some way, which might perhaps deter the undeserving. All who had such parish help were to wear on the right sleeve or shoulder a piece of coloured cloth with the initial of the parish and the letter P marked visibly upon it. Thus B. P. was carried here by the poor folks in letters of metal on their clothes. Some boroughs had already on their own account made such regulations, as at Liverpool in 1685, where it was "ordered that all persons whose names are on the Poore Booke, and who receave almes in this burrough shall weare a pewter badge with the towne's arms engraved on it, and such as refuse to weare them are hereby ordered not to have anie releife from the toune." A natural dislike was felt to accept the badge of poverty, and the frequent disobedience to the rules was followed

by stricter regulations which removed some obstinate offenders from the list.

During the 18th century such medical help as was required had to be sought at Petersfield or Alton, or at least away from Bramshott. But the Overseers sent, as a matter of course, for medicine or cordials for their poor neighbours, though they did not always regard them as of great value when they got them. It was not till 1778 that we find such an entry as "Dr. Coleman, by bill, £25 1s. 1d.," and not till the next century that any regular contract was entered into with a medical officer for the parish. The literature of the age does not speak with much respect of the ministrations that could be procured. Thus in Crabbe's *Village* the tender-hearted poet, fully experienced in rural life, speaks of

> A potent quack, long versed in human ills,
> Who first insults the victim whom he kills,
> Whose murderous hand a drowsy bench protect,
> And whose most tender mercy is neglect.

It is a long step from this to the compassionate treatment of a later age. The Overseers begin to concern themselves with roving strangers; they give to "4 wemmen yt came out of New England great with child 2 of them 2s."; they defray the charges of "entertaining a woman with smallpokes," and take three journeys to Alton for a pass for a sick girl found in a perishing condition, and again "for

an afardayvid for a pore man that did," and for "caring away travlers and bred and bere" as much as £3 0s. 11d. There is now a frequent entry for "exsamening the fagaboens," or "paid for the vagabone monee." Artisans and farm-labourers in search of work elsewhere had to procure a pass signed and sealed by well-known parish officers or others, which set forth the object of the travellers, and pleaded for good treatment for them on their way. Suspicious strangers were arrested. Those who had no license entitling them to travel were carried to the nearest Justice, and the fees charged by officials, clerks, and carriers appear in the accounts. A poor widow of Lyss could not even be allowed to take up her abode in Liphook, a few miles away, without a formal certificate, duly signed and sealed by parish officers and others, to the effect that she would be taken back to Lyss in case of need (Appendix G).

The Overseers' duties evidently became more irksome, and extended beyond the kindly offices for a few old widows which were only seen at first.

One troublesome duty must have been the task of finding a permanent home for the young people who had become chargeable upon the parish. The Overseers were empowered by an Act of Elizabeth and later statutes to bind them as apprentices till the age of twenty-one. Not only persons engaged in husbandry and trade but gentlemen of fortune and

clergymen might be compelled to take them. At first there was little pressure of the kind while the burdens were few in number. The parish might even, without the forms of an apprenticeship, contract with some distant relative or friend elsewhere to take the children off its hands. Thus, in June, 1732, there is a formal entry, duly signed and witnessed, in the books. "It is mutually agreed between the inhabitants of the Parish of Bramshott and Robert Nash of the parish of Great Worldham: the inhabitants of Bramshott agree to pay him a sum of £16 to take off from the said parish of Bramshott two children of Edward Purdy deceased, he giving security to the said parish to indemnify them from any future charges whatsoever on account of the said children." The security consisted of house and land that Robert Nash possessed. As time went on it became harder to provide the fitting homes. Some were shipped off to sea, others were quartered on unwilling farmers, or let out to tradesmen who were not always very careful of their treatment, and who suffered in their turn sometimes from fits of vindictive malice. Thus, in 1761, "about half-an-hour after nine in the evening, the warehouse and workshop belonging to Mr. Pim's paper-mill, at Bramshott in Hampshire, were wilfully set on fire by one of his apprentices. There being a great quantity of pitched rope and rags in the warehouses, they were burnt to

the ground in a few minutes, and the mill was with great difficulty saved. The damage is computed at £600" (*Annual Register*). The abuses of the system attracted frequent notice, and repeated legislation strove to grapple with the evils, which lasted on till far into the last century.

A common entry in the Overseers' books at the end of the 17th and during the 18th century is that of some vagrant soldier or sailor, who fell sick with the smallpox, and had to be tended or removed. Sometimes they were only helped upon the road; thus, "gave to 13 solder sick with ye smallpox 2s.," more often the charge was for carrying them away. Of the sickness among the native population we are not told, but it is natural to suppose that there were many of them who suffered from the same disease. It had been before regarded as a childish ailment little to be dreaded, till after the Restoration, when a brother and sister of Charles II. died of it at Whitehall in 1660, not without much talk of medical neglect. Its greater fatality among the rich was more remarked, probably because the statistics of the poor were less observed. The disease was most deadly to a broken constitution, and likely therefore to be dangerous to the dissipated of the upper classes and the homeless wanderers on the high roads. These were periods when the mortality was very great, as in 1723 when there were 913 cases of it in

Romsey in Hampshire. At such times the rhetorical description of Macaulay might be justified. "The havoc of the plague has been far more rapid; but plague had visited our shores only once or twice within living memory, and the smallpox was always present, filling the churchyards with corpses, tormenting with constant fears all whom it had not yet stricken, leaving on those whose lives it spared the hideous traces of its power, turning the babe into a changeling at which the mother shuddered, and making the eyes and cheeks of the betrothed maiden objects of horror to the lover." The statistics of the age, however, seem to prove that though the scourge was very real, and much more dangerous than in earlier centuries, it was only occasionally so fatal in its issues. It is said to have first left the upper classes, then the villagers and the provincial towns to centre itself mainly in the capital.

It is a noticeable feature in this century that so many deaths occurred on the high road or in the inns which harboured passing strangers. Year after year the Overseers enter the expenses of the sickness or the deaths at the 'Ship' or 'Dragon' or elsewhere. Sometimes they were removed while the disease was still upon them; thus, "solgers with the smolpokes" were carried away betimes, but often they died, unknown even by name. An example may be given from the Overseers' accounts of the expenses in-

curred for the sickness and death of such nameless strangers.

For tending the seaman,	3	0
Laying him forth,	1	0
Watching with him,	0	6
Making affidavit,	1	0
Shroud for him,	3	4
Coffin for him,	6	6
Knell and grave,	2	6
One that watched with him,	1	0
Sack for him,	0	6
Sugar, fruit, and candles,	2	0
Beer for watcher,	2	0
Fowleing of linen and fire,	4	6

Besides the seamen and the soldiers there were many travellers always on the road, among whom accidents were frequent. Children were found drowned in the river, some fell from the stage coaches, others sank exhausted on the way. The charge did not fall always on the parish, for we have such entries as "received from the Treasurer of the County Rate, £45 for the man who had a broken leg at 'The Thorns.'"

It marks the difference of our age of railroads and rapid transit that though tramps have been constantly upon the move, not a single death of any wanderer has been entered in the Parish books during the last thirty years, though in the 18th century scarcely a year passed without an entry of the kind.

Illustrations have been given of the relief of local poverty, and of the various demands upon the charity of the Churchwardens and Overseers for the travellers who passed, or the sufferers who fell sick upon the way. But besides these calls there were frequent appeals for help from distant quarters, which came in a different way. There was one which reached Bramshott in 1722, and was read there in church with the sanction of the Crown, which may be noticed among many others as markedly contrasting with the present conditions of rural and town life. The now wealthy Brighton, then the petty village of Brighthelmstone, sent to beg for help to make good the destruction caused by the fury of the waves in in recent storms. The author of *A Tour in Great Britain* wrote thus upon the subject: "The sea is very unkind to the town, and has by its continual encroachments so gained upon it that in a little time more the inhabitants might reasonably expect that it would eat up the whole of it, above 100 houses having been devoured by the waters in a few years past. They were now obliged to get a Brief granted to beg money all over England to raise banks against the waters, the expense of which the Brief expressly says will be £8,000, which, if one were to look at the town only, would seem to be more than all the houses in it were worth."

It may be well to say something more regarding

these church-briefs, which were read so frequently in the hearing of the Sunday congregations, and which here as elsewhere appealed to charitable feeling for such a variety of objects. The 'briefs' were letters patent, issued by the Crown, and directed to be read in all the churches, within a certain defined area, in favour of petitioners whose needs were very urgent, and who had influence in high places. Fifty-one such were issued in the year 1661-2, and Pepys had perhaps reason to complain, "To Church, where we observe the trade of briefs now come up to so constant a course every Sunday, that we resolve to give no more to them." Many, of course, were very pressing calls: fire and flood worked grievous ruin at a time when no system of insurances existed, and local resources were strained to the utmost of their power. Some were expressed in very pathetic language, like "the humble and lamentable complaint of above 1,500 poore captive soules now under the miserable oppression of the Turks in Algier, Tunis, Sally, Tituane, who lamentably show, That being surprized in 150 of his Majesties Subjects Shippes by Turkish Pyrates, and now remaining in the same Ports, and held in miserable slavery, and solde from party to party, and kept in chaines of iron, their food bread and water, to their extreame griefe, some these 3 yeares, some more, some lesse; not onely to the great damage of themselves, but of their poore wives

and children, who are all ready to starve and perish for want of meanes for their sustentation; and they further most lamentably complaine, that most of the youthfuller sort are of late forced by intolerable and insufferable torments to deny their Saviour, and turn to the Mahometan religion, and deny their owne king and countrey, which, God knowes, is to their great grief and utter discomfort for ever, unlesse their reliefe and freedom may be purchased and obtained," etc., etc.

The horrors of the persecutions of the Protestants in the Vaudois valleys and in Poland drew from the compassionate more than £50,000. Commonly the amount collected in each church was small, and much of it went in the expenses of the agents. For the most part the rural districts helped the towns, and certainly no case of need within 10 miles of Bramshott was matter of appeal in a church brief, though the petitions read there on Sundays were very many.

An official entry at this time refers to a social feature of the age of which we often read complaints: "Made a jorney to Alton and had the wittnesses to prof yt J. Neal has mended the high wayes in Bramshott; paid for eting and ber and a warrant and all charges £3 14s. 3d." (in 1724). John Neal had been appointed as an "honest person of the paryssh surveyor of the workes for the amendment of the hyghe wayes" in accordance with an

Act of 1555, which declared that the roads were "tedious and noisome," and enacted that each parish should keep its own roads in repair. "The parochians were chargeable." "Every person for every plowlande in tyllage or pasture shall fynde and send at every day and place appointed one wayne or cart furnished with oxen, horses or other cattell . . . and also two hable men wyth the same . . . and every other householder cotiger and labourer shall by themselves or one sufficient labourer . . . work and travell in thamendment of the hyghe waies." The system of personal service long continued; even early in the last century the entries in the Wardens' accounts shew that some of the farmers had "worked out their duty," as it was phrased, while others rendered the equivalent in cash. But there is much evidence to prove that the obligation was frequently neglected, especially on the Sussex side, where the roads were proverbially bad. As part of Bramshott lay in Sussex, we may quote one or two illustrations of the state of things on that side of the country and in districts not far distant from the parish. In 1703 Charles III. of Spain slept at Petworth, on his way from Portsmouth to Windsor, and Prince George of Denmark was sent to meet him there. An attendant of the prince gives the following description of the journey southward: "We set out at six in the morning, by torchlight, to

go to Petworth, and did not get out of the coaches (save only when we were overturned, or stuck fast in the mire) till we arrived at our journey's end. 'Twas a hard service for the prince to sit fourteen hours in the coach that day, without eating anything, and passing through the worst ways I ever saw in my life. We were thrown but once indeed in going, but our coach—which was the leading one—and his highness' body coach would have suffered very much, if the nimble boors of Sussex had not frequently poised it or supported it with their shoulders from Godalming almost to Petworth ; and the nearer we approached the duke's house the more inaccessible it seemed to be. The last nine miles of the way cost us six hours to conquer them, and indeed we had never done it if our good master had not several times lent us a pair of horses out of his own coach, whereby we were enabled to trace out the way for him." When they returned on the next day from Petworth, as the same attendant wrote : "I saw him (the prince) no more till I found him at supper at Windsor, for there we were overturned (as we had been once before the same morning) and broke our coach. My Lord Delaware had the same fate, and so had several others" (A. Andrew, *The Eighteenth Century*, p. 151). So De Foe wrote in 1724, the very year when our Overseer went to Alton on his errand of defence. "Going to church

at a country village not far from Lewes I saw an ancient lady—and a lady of very good quality, I assure you—drawn to church in her coach with six oxen; nor was it done in frolic or humour, but mere necessity, the way being so stiff and deep that no horses could go in it" (*ib.*, p. 153). Nor were matters much improved a generation later. Dr. Burton wrote of it in 1751: "Roads . . . which no one would imagine to be intended for the public . . . but more truly the tracks of cattle drivers, for everywhere the usual footmarks of oxen appeared, and we too who were on horseback going on zigzag almost like oxen at plough, advanced as if we were turning back, while we followed out all the twists of the way. . . . Our horses could not keep on their legs . . . but sliding and tumbling on their way, and almost on their haunches, got on but slowly. . . . Why is it that the oxen, the women, the swine, and all other animals are so long legged in Sussex? May it be from the difficulty of pulling the feet out of so much mud by the strength of the ankle that the muscles get stretched as it were, and the bones lengthened?" (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, viii., 254).

Again at North Chapel, in 1757, a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* said: "It took my horse up to the belly the second step he made on the road, and had I not dismounted and clambered up some bushes, I had been lodged there for a season."

On the other hand, to the credit of Hampshire and of Surrey, it should be noted that when Samuel Pepys lay at the 'Anchor' in 1668 he had driven all the way from London and over Hindhead, with a guide, in a single day, reaching Liphook at 10 o'clock at night. In 1711 an Act was passed for amending the road from Petersfield to Portsmouth, but for nearly 40 years there was no complete provision for the communications to the North, and on one occasion all the parishes through which the road over Hindhead passed were indicated for their scandalous neglect of the highway, as was Bedhampton in the sessions at Winchester in 1751, "for that the high road was and yet is very ruinous, miry, deep-broken, and in such decay that the liege subjects of our lord the king, with their horses and carriages, could not nor can go, return, pass without great danger of their lives and loss of their goods." In 1749 an Act was passed for the improvement of the road between Kingston and Sheet Bridge, and after the passing of the General Turnpike Act in 1755 much was done from time to time, as a careful eye may notice even now, to raise the causeway through the hollows, and straighten the occasional windings of the road. In 1787 the road which passed through Haslemere was extended, under the Turnpike Trust, to Liphook and Rake, "avoiding the long and bleak hill of Hindhead."

There had long been stage coaches on the road, but they were comparatively few and slow, though Chamberlayne wrote as early as 1649 : " There is of late such an admirable commodiousness both for men and women to travel from London to the principal towns in the country that the like hath not been known in the world : that is by stage-coaches, wherein any one can be transported to any place sheltered from foul weather and foul ways, free from endangering of one's health and one's body by hard jogging and over-violent motion . . . with such speed in one hour as that the post in some foreign counties cannot make in one day." A little later, in 1662, a pamphlet was written in which the suppression of these coaches was demanded on somewhat curious grounds : " They make gentlemen to come to London on very small occasions, nay the conveniency of the passage makes their wives often come up, who rather than such long journeys on horseback would stay at home. Here when they come to town, they must go in the mode, get fine clothes, go to plays and treats, and by these means get such a habit of idleness and love of pleasure that they are uneasy ever after." The argument may seem to us fantastic, but it was quite in the spirit of the action taken by Government a generation earlier (1632), when bills of indictment were filed against " some of the gentry and abler sort of people " for staying needlessly in town, whereas " by their abiding

in their several counties where their means arises they would not only have served his majesty according to their ranks, but by their housekeeping in those parts the meaner sort of people formerly were guided, directed, and relieved." A Sussex gentleman, whose mansion in the county had been burned down within two years, was fined £1000 on this occasion for deserting his tenants and his neighbours (D'Israeli, *Curiosities*, ii., 182).

At the beginning of the next century the Portsmouth coach took 14 hours usually to get to London, and that only when the roads were good. But before the century closed great progress had been made both in their number and their speed; 'Flying Coaches,' 'Rockets,' 'Wonders' travelled apace; and the 'Belle Sauvage' on Ludgate Hill and the 'Spread Eagle' in Gracechurch Street, from which the Portsmouth coaches started, were scenes of constant bustle which the older ones among us can remember. The journey was not without its perils. The accidents on the road were many. Outside passengers, benumbed with cold and wet, fell from their seats, and our parish registers chronicle some of the deaths that so occurred. The fear of highwaymen also was well grounded. A foreigner describes in the following terms a journey which he made in 1782: "The getting up alone was at the risk of one's life, and when I was up I had nothing to hold on to except

the little handle at the side. The moment we set off I thought I saw certain death before me. The machine rolled with prodigious rapidity over the stones, and every moment we seemed to fly in the air, so that it appeared to me a complete miracle that we stuck to the coach at all. This continual fear of death at last became insupportable to me, and at last I carefully crept along the top of the coach, and esconced myself in the basket behind. On a sudden the coach proceeded at a rapid rate down a hill. Then all the boxes, iron-nailed and copper-fastened, began to dance around me, and every moment I received such violent blows that I thought my last hour had come. Shaken to pieces, bleeding, and sore, I ruefully crept back to my former position; and it rained incessantly, and as before we were covered with dust, we now were soaked with rain. My neighbour every now and then fell asleep; and when in this state he perpetually bolted and rolled against me with the whole weight of his body, more than once nearly pushing me from my seat, to which I clung with the last strength of despair. I looked and certainly felt like a crazy fool when I arrived in London" (Glass, *Roads and Roadmakers*, p. 20).

The basket referred to above, which none perhaps can now remember to have seen, is described in the *Tales of an Antiquary* as "an immense basket, stretching far and wide beyond the body, to which it

was attached by long iron bars or supports passing beneath it, though even these seemed scarcely equal to the enormous weight with which they were frequently loaded. They were never very great favourites, though their difference of price caused them to be frequently well filled."

There was one dismal sight which often met the eye, which modern travellers happily are spared. The criminal laws were terribly severe, and it has been said that at the end of the century no less than 223 capital offences could be reckoned up. The creaking chains and melancholy burden swung on the gallows on many a prominent spot, like the gibbet hill of Hindhead, or on the scenes of special guilt as on Rake Heath. There hung in 1748 one of the murderous band of smugglers who carried off from an Inn at Rowland's Castle a custom-house officer and a witness, whipping one of them for miles till he fell dead upon the road, and chaining up the other for three days in a turf shed near Rake, from which the mangled body was taken only to be flung into a dead well hard by.

The criminals were only brought to justice when one of them turned King's evidence some months later, though some scenes of the tragedy could hardly have been unobserved. A few years before, indeed, it had been stated in open court that in some parts of the Southern Counties the whole population

was so much engaged in smuggling that no jury would convict, and here and there it was hard to find labourers for field work, so many were busy in the trade. They were little seen indeed so far as Bramshott; but the smuggled spirits were freely sold there, and stories were told in village tap-rooms of exciting ventures on the coast.

The eighteenth century was a period of considerable changes in the tenure of the estates and the social conditions of the neighbourhood. The Whiteheads, who had succeeded to the Hookes in 1691, had possession of the Manor until 1814, but after the death of John Whitehead, senior, in 1732, the name disappears from the list of the ratepayers of the parish, though for some time longer the family was represented in the Manor. From the first their rate was but a modest one, for they kept in their own hands as occupiers only the mansion and the grounds immediately around it. Another John Whitehead died in 1736 and Richard in 1744.

The will of the latter, which was proved in May 1745, gives some information respecting the family and its estates. He left his property to be divided thus between three daughters: Anne was to have 'the mansion house' and lands around it, then in the tenure of John Mellersh of Quince, subject, however, to an annuity of £10 to his brother. Westlands and Loseley farms were Sarah's portion;

Frances was to have an annuity of £60 charged on Riddenhurst Manor and land in Crawley and Hascombe. He desired his debts, which he estimated at £1500, to be paid out of his estates as soon as might be, and the mansion house to be occupied as a place of residence for his daughters, but the "housekeeping to be carried on in a discreet and saving way." His housekeeper and kinswoman, Mrs. Randall, was to be kept at a salary of 4 guineas a year. His 'good friends' Thomas Bilson of Fyning and George Osborne of Liphook—who gave his name to Osborne House—were named as his executors, and the latter was to have for his trouble the use for 12 years of all the fishponds at Westlands and the pond called 'Lane-end Pond.'

His daughter Sarah, called coheiress in her epitaph, married Jonathan Dennis, the Rector of the parish, in 1759. Their son, the Rev. Whitehead Dennis, sold the Manorial rights to Nicolas Kent in 1814. Only a few acres of land were transferred with them to the purchaser, and the rest of the old demesne lands had probably been parted with long before. Most of the copyholders had been enfranchised, and the value of the Manor now consisted mainly in the sporting rights together with the somewhat unsubstantial title to the waste, which would, however, have given a claim to the absolute ownership of a

large slice of it if any Enclosure Act had been then passed, as was the case elsewhere on Hindhead. Bramshott Place, the Manor House, appears to have been let to various tenants.

Another family, however, that of the Butlers, had already gained a footing in the parish, and were to connect their name in course of time with many of the chief houses in it and around it. The traditions of the family begin with the younger son of a noble house in Ireland, who left his native land in troubled times, and settled at Stanley in a remote corner of the picturesque borderland of Sussex, some two miles from Liphook. The Court Rolls of Lynchmere and Shulbred shew that Walter Butler was admitted to a copyhold of two yardlands under the yearly rent of 33s. 4d. The old house is standing still in the sequestered spot, near the wide heathlands, where several generations lived and died, sturdy and bare of ornament, with little shew of modern comfort and refinement. "Here," says a memoir of the family, "on Sundays the goodman seated himself upon old Dobbin, with his loving helpmate behind him upon a pad, and decked out in her gayest apparel, with mob-cap, long stays, and slit sleeves, and paraded to Lynchmere Church, accompanied by their boys and girls on foot." To this Church he left at death, after the custom of the age, sixpence in his will, and 5s. to its poor, while

Fernhurst, his real parish, received 12d. and 10s. for its poor. The land must have been well stocked with kine, for his son gave to his wife at death 100 cwt. of cheese, which was doubtless a home product, together with two of his best feather beds, and much of his other household stuff, and one hog besides. They lived simply and saved money, though Walter, the grandson, "kept open house for a fortnight after his marriage; there were large tables on the green near the house, every day loaded with the old English fare of roast beef and other substantial dishes, and whoever liked to partake of it was welcome." Towards the end of his life, which ended in 1731, he bought a farm called Shorts at Bramshott, and removed himself near to it to Old Place, which was then in the hands of his son-in-law, John Mellersh of Quince, married to Walter's daughter by a runaway match, for which the bride escaped out of her bedroom window.

His son John was the enterprising and successful member of the house. A farmer first, he was rated from 1722 onwards for the land of Shorts, which he represented as overseer in 1738. He built the present house, but grew frightened at the expense incurred and left it scarcely finished. His resources and energies meantime were perhaps monopolised elsewhere. The iron industry of Sussex had seen its best days long before. In Bramshott it had

ceased entirely to exist, but John Butler, quite inexperienced as he was, established a hammer furnace and cannon foundry at Fernhurst, and entered into contracts with the government during the American and Spanish wars, and after many difficulties achieved at last a great success. The old skill in the industrial processes had died out in the neighbourhood, and the workmen imported from the north made much of their own importance and little of the interests of their master. But in time he replaced them with the native labour which had been gradually trained, and with the help of his faithful clerk, George Denyer, whose tombstone stands in the churchyard, did a large and prosperous trade. With the profits, the Temple estate at Selborne was purchased from a Powlett, and the manor of Chiltelee and lands at Empshott also were acquired. He married as a second wife Anne Whitehead, the eldest daughter of the lord of Bramshott, though the union was thought unlikely by the writer of the following lines, which imply that he was somewhat niggardly in social life, with a 'good old' father and a tiny wife.

When Whitehead does delight in strife,
Or when he gets a better wife ;
When honest Mellersh does prefer
Farthings to friends, to wine small beer ;
When he commands his spouse, and she

Obeys, or is from vapours free ;
When good old Butler tells a lie ;
When Nancy Whitehead's six foot high ;
At Bramshott when good butter's made ;
When all the tithes are justly paid ;
When Thornton Bramshott friends forgets ;
When Woods speaks truth, or Butler treats ;
Then, says the prophet, little Nancy
With Shanny shall enjoy her fancy.

What was soon gained was as quickly lost by his grandson John, as may be seen in a later chapter, when we trace the further fortunes of the family.

While large estates were being thus acquired by the Butlers, little holdings were being thrown together, to be held in the same hands. The history of the Downlands estate will illustrate the process. A small copyhold called by that name for centuries was enfranchised by George Enticknap in 1686, and another adjoining it called 'Clerks' by Thomas Enticknap in 1703. The two were merged in 1742, and sold to Nicolas Kent, who rebuilt on a larger scale the upper of the two farmhouses, and planted the stately avenue of Scotch firs, on which winds and snows have worked such lamentable havoc. The other tenement at Clerks, adjoining the Rectory, was used by the labourers on the land. 'Adams' and the Church Farm with Old Place were acquired at different dates, and so the present estate was rounded off. Nicolas Kent died in 1780, and left

the property to Benjamin Darlington, who moved from his house in S. Dunstan in the West, and took up his residence at Downlands. A like accumulation was going on elsewhere. John Neale of Bohunt was rated for a place close by called Lower House, for Gunns, Dudmans, Tanners and Hewshott Hill. A Fullick family, which the Overseers had tried in vain to rate in 1672, begins with a butcher's shop and owns or occupies Loseley and Bittlesfield, Heathers and Ratford, and even for a while Chiltelee and Place. John Mellersh of Quince had been rated also for Adams, and Old Place and Hewshott. Cover of the little place opposite the west end of the Church used also land called Marches, Collyers, and Glashiers. In 1786 twelve of the farms consist in each case of two or three of the old holdings thrown together. Even the two rival Inns, the 'Anchor' and the 'Crown,' called later on the 'Ship,' its opposite neighbour, were kept in 1792 by the same hostess, Elizabeth Keen (App. H). All this could not have gone on without considerable displacement of the old yeomanry, the copyholders of early date. They have left their names in many cases linked to the farmhouses which they once occupied, or where their dwellings stood, but one after another they departed, and while a few rose to more substantial fortunes, most of them sank to the level of the wage-earners around them. Even thus early the

changes had begun which turned the substantial houses of the yeomen into pairs of inconvenient tenements for carter and for shepherd who were needed close to the farm buildings.

The change did not commence so soon in some of the parishes around. At Westmeon certainly nearly all the land at the beginning of the last century was owned by the men who worked it, and there is much evidence to shew that the same was true of many parts of England. But in Bramshott the displacement began long before. For already a new spirit of agricultural enterprise was making itself felt. Capital was seeking for returns from the cultivation of the land which might compete with the manufacturers' gains. The small holdings of the past, with their traditional systems and appliances, could not long maintain their place against the competition of the new machinery and improved methods which could best be introduced by moneyed men on larger farms. The manufacturers of the large centres of commerce were rapidly supplanting the domestic industries which had enabled the husbandmen to provide themselves with the rude tools used upon the land, while their wives and daughters supplied many of the household wants with home-made cloth and linen, and laid up stores for the visits of the travelling merchant. During the 18th century many of the landowners shewed a

a most intelligent interest in agriculture, and did much to improve the produce of the ground and breeds of cattle. In Norfolk 'turnip' Townsend—as he was called in banter—had encouraged the growth of turnips and artificial grasses which largely increased the store of winter food. On abundance of fodder abundance of stock followed. This brought with it great quantities of farmyard manure to which the greatly increased produce of the 18th century was mainly due. Bakewell, called 'the founder of the grazier's art,' applied scientific method to his breeds of Leicester sheep and shorthorns; practical men elsewhere adapted his experience to other stocks. Mechanical improvements secured an economy of labour; Farmers' Clubs and Agricultural Societies were founded, means of communication and transport were improved, arable farming was stimulated by duties laid on foreign wheat, and bounties on corn exported. Arthur Young meantime was busily engaged in extended tours through England for the study of the agricultural methods employed in different districts, and in the diffusion by his writings of the experience thus acquired. "If this noble spirit continue," he said, "we shall soon see husbandry in perfection."

At Bramshott the landowners do not seem to have led the way. John Butler was too busy with his iron-works to have much time to spare

for the management of the large estates which he acquired. The Whiteheads occupied but little ground beyond their residence at the Place, Chiltelee was in a farmer's hands for a long time, Ludshot was deserted by its owners, and the estate was parcelled out among various occupants. The farms however were generally larger, or rather distinct copyholds were thrown together and enfranchised, and the Neales, Fullicks, Mellershes and Chalcrafts were men of local mark and means. The improvements which were introduced elsewhere may well have been copied by them.

The wage-earners on the land shared for some time in the general improvement of conditions. During the first half of the century they were better off than they had been for many years. "Labourers," said Chamberlayne in 1737, "by their large wages and the cheapness of necessaries enjoyed better dwellings, diet and apparel in England than husbandmen and farmers elsewhere" (*State of Great Britain*). The harvests were good for many successive years, and the average price of wheat from 1713 to 1764 was scarcely 40 shillings a quarter. England exported largely, besides producing food enough for a rapidly increasing population. The rates remained at nearly the same figure in Bramshott, and that not in itself a high one, though new forms of expense were thrown upon them. After 1765 however the harvests were unfavourable: the pressure of war and of the grow-

ing population raised food to almost famine prices, and there was no proportionate rise in wages.

Our Overseers' accounts reflect the change without delay. The rates had been only £71 in 1741, but in 1765 they amount to £234, and in 1775 they are as high as £382. The average weekly wage meantime was about 7s. 6d. There were worse times, however, still to follow. In 1795 wheat rose to 104s. a quarter, but for many years afterwards wages were no higher than 10s. a week, and the pressure of famine was so great that both Houses of Parliament agreed to reduce their domestic consumption, by at least one third, that the strain of demand might be, if possible, relieved. The Magistrates of Middlesex, assembled in Quarter Sessions, agreed that no puddings or pies should be served during the year upon their tables. The Common Council at Guildhall decided to apply to the King's Ministers to prohibit the use of hair powder in the Army, as it was generally made of flour. In Sussex "the gentry adopted the more rational mode of diminishing the price of corn." They served out to the poor pickled pork with cabbage and beans (*Times*, July 20, 1795). At Portsea a mob attacked the bakers' shops, and forced them to sell at 6 pence a quartern loaf, the price of which later in the year rose to 1s. 3d. A little later it was made a penal offence for any baker to expose

for sale any bread "until the same shall have been baked twenty-four hours at the least." All classes suffered from the dearth except the landowners whose rents were rising, and the farmers whose gains were large before their leases were renewed.

The expedients of the past seemed inadequate to cope with the intensity of the distress. In 1795, therefore, Bramshott, with its neighbours of Headley and Kingsley, agreed to adopt an Act of 1782 which enabled parishes to combine in the provision of a Union House for the old and sick and orphaned, the management of which was to be controlled by Guardians and the Justices, the duty of the Overseers being only to collect the rates. Work was to be found elsewhere, if necessary, for the able-bodied poor. Accordingly a 'House of Industry,' as it was fancifully called at first, was built on the Headley road at a little distance beyond the borders of the parish, at a cost to Bramshott of £521 for its share, besides further outlay for the furniture, and a sum of £600 was borrowed for the purpose. Twenty paupers of Bramshott were housed in it, and they were boarded by the Master at a contract price which varied from 2s. 3d. to 3s. But the earlier practices were not immediately dropped. House rent was paid for some of the infirm in their old homes; the 'almshouse' at Hammer was still used, for the popular sentiment

was strongly adverse to the barracks of the parishes in union. The poet Crabbe gave pathetic expression to a general feeling of the time:

> Your plan I love not—with a number you
> Have placed your poor, your pitiable few;
> There in one house throughout their lives to be,
> The pauper palace which they hate to see;
> That giant building, that high bounding wall,
> Those bare worn walks, that lofty thund'ring hall;
> That large loud clock, which tolls each dreaded hour,
> Those gates and locks, and all those signs of power,
> It is a prison, with a milder name
> Which few inhabit without dread or shame.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Here the good pauper, losing all the praise
> By worthy deeds acquired in better days,
> Breathes a few months, then to his chamber led
> Expires, while strangers prattle round his bed.

Parliament, indeed, had lately called attention to simpler and more primitive forms of charity, when it enacted in 1786 that ministers and churchwardens should make returns on oath of "all donations for the benefit of poor persons in their several parishes, and directed the Act to be read by the officiating minister in every parish church." The return, however, was believed to be "very defective and obscure." Many benefactions had been lost by negligence or fraud, like the two which had been chronicled at Bramshott. One was that of Anthony Vallor, who at his death in 1608 left "unto the poore

of this parish £1 2s. yearly out of his lands at Kingsley to be distributed in bread for ever against the feast of the Nativity of Christ." It was a short 'for ever,' for its memory was wholly lost when the Act was read in church. The other was a benefaction of £10 left by Thomas Collins in 1627, and this also disappeared ere long.

How the wage-earners could be fed was a hard problem for many anxious hearts. Bread was at a famine price; the laws of settlement fixed the cottagers on their native soil; they could not wander away in search of work; wages had risen but little, and employment in the winter months was slack. An expedient was adopted which here, as elsewhere, had momentous issues. In the same year, 1795, when the House of Industry was built, the Justices of Berkshire, who had assembled to rate the wages of husbandry, declared their unanimous conviction that more help was needed for the poor, and that it was no longer fitting to regulate wages in accordance with the earlier statutes. Farmers, they urged, should be earnestly entreated to raise the wages in proportion to the prices of provisions. For themselves they would make allowances, for the relief of the deserving poor, of 3 shillings for the man and one and sixpence for wife and every child, so long as the gallon loaf cost one shilling. The allowance was to rise, 3 pence to the man, and one penny to every other

of the family, for every penny which the loaf might rise above a shilling. This, which was called the Speenhamland Resolution, was adopted extensively in other districts.

The action of the Justices was kindly meant, but the system of allowances had a fatal effect upon the moral and economic conditions of the age. It made the burden on the rates a crushing one, while it encouraged the grasping selfishness of the employers, who could easily combine in any district, and fix upon any pittance of wages they might please, regardless of the larger profits which they made from the high price of corn, and force all other interests to contribute to the support of their own workmen. It broke down the sturdy self-respect of the labouring classes, by familiarising a large proportion of them with the idea of parochial relief, which became indeed an absolute necessity to very many. Thus we read in Arthur Young's *Annals of Agriculture*: "Many authors have remarked with surprise the great change which has taken place in the spirit of the lower classes of the people within the last 20 years. There was formerly found an unconquerable aversion to depend upon the parish, insomuch that many would struggle through life with large families never applying for relief. That spirit is annihilated, applications of late have been as numerous as the poor; and one great mis-

fortune attending the change is that every sort of industry flags when once the parochial dependence takes place. It then becomes a struggle between the pauper and the parish, the one to do as little and to receive as much as possible, and the other to pay by no rule but the summons and order of the Justice. The evils resulting are beyond all calculation, for the motives to industry and frugality are cut up by the roots, whenever a poor man knows that if he do not feed himself the parish must do it for him ; and that he has not the most distant hope of ever attaining independence, let him be as industrious and frugal as he may. To acquire land enough to build a cottage on is a hopeless aim in 99 parishes out of a hundred."

Leaving to the next chapter the further developments of Poor-Law relief, we may notice that few traces are to be found in this neighbourhood of a movement that was going on very rapidly in other parts of England. Between 1760 and 1797 no less than 1482 enclosure bills were passed, and nearly 3 million acres were thus dealt with. As in the 16th century, the object was partly to supersede the wasteful and unprogressive system of common field cultivation, of which enough, perhaps, has been said above. But besides proving that enclosures of this kind certainly increased both rent and produce, Arthur Young and other agricultural reformers

drew attention to the great quantity of land which was still lying waste, and urged the necessity of reclaiming it in order to feed the growing population. The high prices that ruled towards the end of the century, and the pressure of war hastened on the changes. But the interests of the poor commoners too often suffered in the process. They could not always prove their legal title to what they had long enjoyed by custom; or the allotments given them were too small to feed a cow; or the expenses of enclosing it were too great. Young himself deplored the injuries that were thus inflicted, while he proves that there was no force in the objection often urged that the enclosures tended to depopulate the country. Unlike the changes in the 16th century, tillage not pasturage was increased, and more rather than less labour was required. We must not therefore readily accept the pathetic phrases of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village:*

> Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> When wealth accumulates and men decay;
> Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
> A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed, can never be supplied.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> A time there was, ere England's griefs began,
> When every rood of ground maintain'd its man.
>
> . . . . . .

But times are alter'd, trade's unfeeling train
Usurp the land and dispossess the swain.

. . . . . .

Where, then, ah ! where shall poverty reside,
To 'scape the pressure of contiguous pride ?
If to some common's fenceless limits stray'd,
He drives his flock to pick the scanty blade,
Those fenceless fields the sons of wealth divide,
And e'en the bareworn common is denied.

In any case, Enclosure Acts began at a later period in this neighbourhood, though on every side there was a wide stretch of heath and fern, and the open-field system apparently had quite ceased to exist.

Among the miscellaneous items of the Overseers' accounts there are a few, unlike the rest, which illustrate the military necessities of the age and the expedients to meet them. Thus we find in 1778 "bounty money for serving in the militia, £3 13s. 6d." ; and a year or two later, "in part for finding a substitute, £4 17s." ; and again £5. In 1795 "towards hiring a seaman, £19 2s. 6d." ; and in 1797 for "a sailor for Bramshott, £22 11s." An Act had been passed in 1757 for raising a militia for the national protection, and each county had been required to furnish a contingent, the quota for Hampshire being 960. By a later Act any drawn for the militia might find substitutes. An Act of 1779 doubled this militia force, and the amount paid to the substitutes increased. Later on, when a large

fleet was suddenly required to command the seas and to avert invasion, there were strenuous efforts made to raise recruits. Each town and district had to supply its quota, and there was no lack of voluntary zeal. "The parish of St. James, Westminster, raised 25 men with a bounty of £21 a piece." "The average price in the Eastern Counties was £25 per man, so that the fine of £10 added to it will make the parishes defaulting advance £35, in lieu of a man, for every 68 assessed houses" (*Times*, April 7 and 9, 1795). Besides this, pressgangs swept merchant vessels and sea-ports of their seamen; able-bodied vagabonds were forced to serve. Magistrates even strained their powers of conviction. "An apprentice of a master bricklayer who stole a board, value under 9 pence, had his choice to enlist as a soldier or serve on board the fleet" (*Times*, January 5, 1795). Our local history is silent as to the pressure brought to bear on the native seamen, but it is clear that some whose names were drawn for service were not very willing; and John Neale, of Bohunt, with the assistance of the parish, bought a substitute for his own servant or farm-man. On the whole, however, there was no lack of military ardour. Volunteering went on apace, with some results that might not have been looked for, if we believe the *Times*. "Since the formation of volunteer corps . . . public-houses are deserted for the drill, our churches are better fre-

quented, profane swearing is banished, every man looks to his character, and is cautious in all he says or does, lest he should disgrace the name of a British Volunteer."

The literature of the age presents us with a series of portraits drawn from different social classes, some of which it may be well to recall to memory before we pass to later times. There is the genial Squire of the *Spectator*, Sir Roger de Coverley, whose gracious courtesies and shrewd urbanity endeared him to the whole country-side ; there is the rollicking fox-hunter of Fielding, full of loud oaths and potent liquors. We cannot match these types with any certainty with any of the Hookes, Whiteheads, or Butlers of Bramshott, who seem to have had more culture and good taste than the Squire of Fielding's novels, nor did they fill perhaps quite the same social place as the amiable knight of Addison. Among the less known of the landowners around them there may, however, have been some who resembled the 'Small Squire' in the reign of George the Second, as described for us in Grose's *Olio*. "I mean the little independent gentleman of three hundred pounds per annum, who commonly appeared in a plain drab or plush coat, large silver buttons, a jockey cap, and rarely without boots. His travels never exceeded the distance of the county town, and that only at assize or session time, or to attend an election. Once a week he

commonly dined at the next market-town with the attorneys and justices. This man went to church regularly, read the weekly journal, settled the parochial disputes between the parish officers at the vestry, and afterwards adjourned to the neighbouring alehouse, where he usually got drunk for the good of his country. He never played at cards but at Christmas, when a family pack was produced from the mantelpiece. He was commonly followed by a couple of greyhounds and a pointer, and announced his arrival at a neighbour's house by smacking his whip or giving the view-halloo. His drink was generally ale, except on Christmas, the Fifth of November, or some other gala days, when he would make a bowl of strong brandy punch, garnished with a toast and nutmeg. A journey to London was, by one of these men, reckoned as great an undertaking as is at present a voyage to the East Indies, and undertaken with scarce less precaution and preparation. . . . The hall of his mansion was furnished with flitches of bacon, and the mantelpieces with guns and fishing-rods of different dimensions, accompanied by the broadsword, partisan, and dagger borne by his ancestors in the civil wars. The vacant spaces were occupied by staghorns. Against the wall was posted King Charles' Golden Rules, Vincent Wing's Almanack, and a portrait of the Duke of Marlborough. In his window lay Baker's *Chronicle*, Fox's

Book of Martyrs, Glanvil on *Apparitions*, Quincey's *Dispensatory*, *The Complete Justice*, and a *Book of Farriery*. In the corner, by the fireside, stood a large wooden two-armed chair, with a cushion; and within the chimney corner were a couple of seats. Here, at Christmas, he entertained his tenants, assembled around a glowing fire, made of the roots of trees and other great logs, and told and heard the traditionary tales of the village. In the meantime, the jorum of ale was in continual circulation."

Mrs. Randall, kinswoman and housekeeper of the daughters and co-heiresses of Richard Whitehead, whose mansion was kept up according to his will "in a discreet and saving way," had probably some of the features of the portrait given by the same writer. If not, there were doubtless some near who had them. "When I was a young man there existed in the families of most unmarried men or widowers of the rank of gentlemen, residents in the country, a certain antiquated female; either maiden or widow, commonly an aunt or cousin. Her dress I have now before me. It consisted of a stiff-starched cap and hood, a little hoop, a rich silk damask gown with large flowers. She leant on the ivory-headed crutch-cane, and was followed by a fat phthisicky dog of the pug kind, who commonly reposed on a cushion, and enjoyed the privilege of snarling at the servants, occasionally biting their heels with impunity. By

the side of this good old lady jingled a bunch of keys, securing in different closets and corner cupboards all sorts of cordial waters, cherry and raspberry brandy, washes for the complexion, Daffy's elixir, a rich seed-cake, a number of pots of currant jelly and raspberry jam, with a range of gallipots and phials containing salves, electuaries, jaleps, and purges for the use of the poor neighbours. The daily business of this good lady was to scold the maids, collect eggs, feed the turkeys, and assist at all lyings-in that happened within the parish. Alas! this being is no more seen, and the race is like that of her pug dog and the black rat, totally extinct."

Of clerical portraits there is no lack in the lighter literature of the age, though few without some features of disparagement of moral qualities or social status. There is the Parson Trulliber of Fielding, more at home in the hog-sty than the pulpit, and the sententious, obsequious timeserver of Miss Austin; there is the poor warm-hearted scholar, with his tattered cassock, the "patriarchal, wise, innocent, and foolish" Parson Adams; there is the Vicar of Wakefield, and the chaplain of Sir Roger de Coverley, who was "rather of plain sense than of much learning," for whom, says the knight, "at his first settling with me I made him a present of all the good sermons which have been printed in English, and only begged of him that every Sunday he would pronounce one of

them in the pulpit. Accordingly he has digested them into such a series that they follow one another naturally, and make a continued system of practical divinity." The 'contempt of the clergy' was a very common phrase, but the reasons given for it vary. "Since the Lollards there had never been a time when the ministers of religion were held in so much contempt as in the Hanoverian period. . . . There was no feeling against the Establishment, nonconformity was even less in favour. The contempt was for the persons, manners, and characters of ecclesiastics" (Pattison).

In 1796, when there was grave fear of French invasion, a correspondent in the *Gentleman's Magazine* earnestly desired that a precedent of early ages should be followed, and an order be issued to array the clergy against French invaders. "What are our lounging, dressing, card-playing, intriguing, paragraph-writing, horse-dealing, racing, and gambling clergy fit for but to shoulder a musket at the drum-head, when they never preach. To these add the long list of sinecure readers and half-starved curates, and for pity's sake to themselves, their relations, and the nation at large, let them be enrolled to save their country."

Crabbe, himself a country parson, points in his *Borough* to a more decorous picture, but to no very lofty standard :

Thus was his race begun, and to the end
His constant care was, no man to offend ;
No haughty virtues stirr'd his peaceful mind,
Nor urg'd the Priest to leave his flock behind ;
He was his Master's soldier ; but not one
To lead an army of his Martyrs on.

. . . . . .

Fiddling and fishing were his arts : at times
He alter'd sermons and he aimed at rhymes ;
And his fair friends, not yet intent on cards,
Oft he amused with riddles and charades.
Mild were his doctrines, and not one discourse
But gain'd in softness what it lost in force ;
Kind his opinions, he would not receive
An ill report, nor evil act believe ;
If true 't was wrong, but blemish great or small
Have all mankind ; yea, sinners are we all.

. . . . . .

Now rests our Vicar. They who knew him best
Proclaim his life t' have been entirely rest :
Free from all evils which disturb the mind,
When studies vex and controversies blind.
The rich approved—of them in awe he stood ;
The poor admired—they all believed him good.
The old and serious of his habits spoke ;
The frank and youthful loved his pleasant joke.
In him his flock found nothing to condemn,
Him sectaries liked—he never troubled them.

The Rectors of Bramshott, however, during this period do not seem to have resembled any of these types. The advowson had passed, as we have seen, from the hands of the Hooke family to the Society

of Queen's College, Oxford, and a Senior Fellow, or one high upon the list, accepted the benefice whenever it was vacant. The Incumbents had been men of sufficient means, as compared with so many of the clergy of the time, and had long lived in the staid gravity of Academic habits. They had filled College offices, and had held in some cases preferment of a higher order ; thus Dr. Stedman (R. 1730-3) was also Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Dr. Browne (1745-58) was Chancellor of Hereford, and became Provost of Queen's College, and several were spoken of by their successors in the Parish Registers in terms of high respect. One Jonathan Dennis (1758-91), Senior Fellow of his College, after his marriage with Sarah Whitehead of the Manor House, exerted social influence by means of her estates. Their antecedents may not always have fitted them for usefulness in country life ; but they took a recognised place in the society about them, and were raised above the slights and taunts to which rusticity and straitened means exposed many of the clergy of that age. They were more likely to err on the side of self-assertion than to assume the colourless part and undecided tones of the gentle and timid Vicar of Crabbe's poems.

There was another familiar figure of the age which had certainly its representative at Bramshott, where he lived on till some thirty years ago. "It is a difficult matter to decide," wrote Cowper in a paper

in the *Connoisseur* already quoted, "which is looked upon as the greatest man in a country church, the parson or his clerk. The latter is most certainly held in higher veneration where the former happens to be only a poor curate, who rides post every Sabbath from village to village, and mounts and dismounts at the church door. The clerk's office is not only to tag the prayers with an Amen, or usher in the sermon with a stave, but he is also the universal father to give away the brides, and the standing god-father to all the new-born bantlings." His self-importance and high estimate of his functions were the object of Pope's amusing satire. "In the name of the Lord, Amen. I, P. P. by the grace of God, Clerk of this Parish, writeth this History. . . . No sooner was I elected unto mine office, but I layed aside the powdered gallantries of my youth, and became a new man. I considered myself as in some wise of ecclesiastical dignity, since by wearing a band, which is no small part of the ornament of our clergy, I might not unworthily be deemed, as it were, a shred of the linen vestment of Aaron.

. . . . . .

"I was determined to reform the manifold corruptions and abuses which had crept into the Church. First, I was especially severe in whipping forth dogs from the Temple, all excepting the lapdog of the good widow Howard, a sober dog which yelped not,

nor was there offence in his mouth. Secondly, I did even proceed to moroseness, though sore against my heart, unto poor babes, in tearing from them the half-eaten apples which they privily munched at Church. But verily it pity'd me, for I remembered the days of my youth. Thirdly, with the sweat of my own hands, I did make plain and smooth the dogs-ears throughout our great Bible. Fourthly, the pews and benches, which were formerly swept but once in three years, I caused every Saturday to be swept with a besom and trimmed. Fifthly, and lastly, I caused the surplice to be neatly darned, washed, and laid in fresh lavender (yea, and sometimes to be sprinkled with rose-water), and I had great laud and praise from all the neighbouring clergy, as no parish kept the minister in cleaner linen."

. . . . . .

He describes a great revolution in the Church. . . . "Now was over-abundant quaver and trilling done away with, and in lieu thereof was instituted the Sol-fa in such guise as is sung in his Majesty's chapel. . . . What though they accused me of humming through the nostril, as a sackbut; yet would I not forego that harmony, it having been agreed by the worthy parish clerks of London still to preserve the same?"

. . . . . .

He laments the disuse of wedding sermons, and

celebrates the benefit arising from those at funerals. . . . "Ah, let not the relations of the deceased grudge the small expense of a hatband, a pair of gloves, and ten shillings, for the satisfaction they are sure to receive from a pious divine, that their father, brother, or bosom wife are certainly in heaven." . . .

We find in another chapter how much he was staggered in his belief, and disturbed in his conscience, by an Oxford scholar, who had proved to him by logic that animals might have rational, nay, immortal souls, but how he was again comforted with the reflection that, "if so, they might be allowed Christian burial, and greatly augment the fees of the parish."

It has been noted in an earlier chapter that for some time after the Reformation the clerks read the burial and other services in Church. In 1791 a curate who had a grammar school four miles distant from his curacy wrote to plead that the clerks might thus officiate at funerals, on the ground that the country people were so obstinate that they would not be buried on his half-holidays. (*Gent. Magazine*, March, 1791).

Bramshott must have suffered like other parts of the diocese from the sluggishness of its spiritual overseers. Early in the century an address to Queen Anne was drafted on the neglected state of the Diocese of Winchester. "Bishop Morley, who had been an excellent prelate, was superannuated for the

last ten years of his life (1674-84), and the late Bishop Mews was entirely careless of discharging the duty of his function during the whole time, which was about 22 years, so that they had suffered under all the inconveniences of neglected visitations, want of confirmations, and a total neglect of discipline in the diocese." Later on episcopal visits to the village churches must have been very rare, for 18 years elapsed without a single confirmation at Basingtoke, and again there was an interval of 11 years, when some thousands were confirmed together.

Even so late as this there are entries in the Funeral Register which can only be explained by reference to ancient custom which was not yet entirely extinct. "Mortuary" is added as a marginal note occasionally in the case of a substantial farmer. This was originally "the second best quick cattel whereof the party died possessed," and was in theory given in lieu of tithes that might have been forgotten or withheld. An Act of Henry VIII. (1529) had condemned irregularities in the exaction of such dues, and forbidden them altogether when the goods of the deceased did not amount to ten marks. A mortuary of 3s. 4d. or 6s. 8d. was to be taken when the goods were under £30 or £40 respectively, and 10s. when over that amount. It became evidently an optional payment, and was probably connected with funeral sermons when specially desired.

As a set-off against these profitable fees there was one obligation which must have been very irksome to Joseph Hewson, the existing Rector of the parish. For a few years in the last decade of the eighteenth century a tax of threepence was levied on every birth, death, and marriage, and these sums had to be collected by the clergy and forwarded to the nearest sub-distributor of stamps, who might live miles away. It was naturally described as a "paltry, unprofitable, and oppressive" tax, in a letter to a friend of Mr. Pitt, which probably led to its repeal (*Gent. Mag.*, Oct., 1794). The produce was so trifling that it was not worth while to send anyone to check the Parish Registers, and the officiating clergy were not pleased to figure as tax collectors for the Government in the eyes of their own people.

XI.

POOR LAWS AND OTHER SOCIAL CHANGES.

The John Butler who had made the family fortunes, and accumulated a large estate in the parish and the neighbourhood, had died in 1775, followed at varying intervals by his three sons. The grandson, John, succeeded early in the following century to all but the Chiltelee and Empshott estates, which were left to his brother James, and in a few years he squandered it all in novel ventures and in ostentatious farming, and had at last even to quit the country and live on a scanty pittance in the Channel Islands, some of his wife's fortune only being left for his large family, who had from their father little but the memory of expensive habits and fascinating manners. His eldest son, Thomas, was brought up as a farmer, and married Miss Kent, who inherited from her brother the Downlands estate in 1826. That property, as we have seen, had been acquired, in 1748,

by Nicholas Kent, who left it to Benjamin Darlington, with remainder to his son Nicholas. Benjamin assumed the name of Kent in 1793, and Nicholas Kent succeeded him in 1810. In 1814 the Manorial rights of Bramshott, extending over nearly 1,000 acres of enclosed and common lands, were acquired by him of Mr. Whitehead Dennis, together with a few acres of land and "three large fish-ponds, plentifully stored with fish"—as the auctioneer's advertisement describes them—two at Wakener's Wells and one at Wheatsheaf—for a sum of £1,015. From 1826 to the present time the Butler family has held the lordship of the Manor.

The Chiltelee estate was left, as has been said, to a brother of the spendthrift John, named James, who devoted some years there and elsewhere to farming on a large scale with fair success. But after the great war was ended the agricultural interest declined; his experiments and speculations with merino sheep involved great losses, and in 1830 Chiltelee was sold for £10,000 and his household removed to Empshott. The family memoir speaks of valuable notes on Husbandry, which were published by him. As in the case of well-known writers on the subject, like Tusser and Jethro Tull and Arthur Young, the experience of the theorist had not enriched himself. He was also a man of artistic tastes and scholarly acquirements, "acquainted," says the memoir, "with

the first Latin authors," and of some poetic fancy; witness his plaintive verses when he quitted his beloved Chiltelee, and his playful pieces to his children, of which specimens remain. He was certainly quite different from the coarse squires of Fielding's novels, and we may think well of the society of Bramshott in the times represented by him and by the light banter of the curate in charge, of which a part was quoted above. Charles, the younger brother of John and James Butler, had a large medical practice at Chichester, but returned in middle life to Bramshott, where he lived on a small farm at Conford, which he rented from his brother, and bought estates at Bradshott and Lecourt, clearing the whole purchase-money in a few years by successful management of the lands. In 1831 he followed his brother James to Bradshott, where he died.

The manor of Ludshot had passed at the end of the 18th century into the possession of Sir Thomas Miller, and the old manor house at Fir Grove was let to various tenants, who farmed the lands that went with it. The last of these, John Stacey was churchwarden for 40 years. About 1825 it was sold to Sir James Macdonald, son of Sir Archibald Macdonald, who became chief baron of the Exchequer in 1793, and was descended from Donald M'Donald, Lord of the Isles. Sir James pulled down the old house at Fir Grove, leaving only the coach buildings

and stables, and erected a mansion, now called Woolmer Lodge, on the hill of Ludshot, adjoining the Common of that name, where there had been a little farm from ancient times. This has since remained the family seat of the Macdonalds.

At the opening of the 19th century the total of the rates collected by the Overseers on a rateable value of £2,330 amounted to £1,021, and though it dropped considerably for three years following, it rose again almost as high, and remained commonly at about that figure, amounting, however, to £1,484 in 1818 and to £1,709 in 1819. After this there was a considerable decline (note 24).

The expenses of the 'House of Industry' were under £200, and much of the remainder went to the able-bodied poor. For 20 years the price of wheat was on an average 98s. 6d. a quarter. Wages increased, indeed, from 10s. to 12s. 9d. a week in 1811, but Arthur Young then calculated that the wages of the farm labourer were insufficient to provide the necessary food, without regard to the cost of house rent, fuel, and clothing. A considerable number, however, of the unmarried men were lodged in the farmhouses, and lived more plentifully, as their employers found their board. The evil was not aggravated here, as in some districts, by the abuses of the Close Parishes, where a few large landowners limited the number of the cottages on their own estates, thus

reducing the pressure of the rates, while they brought their cheap labour from adjoining parishes, where no such restrictions could be enforced. From 1811 to 1824 there was a steady decline in wages, and they reached their lowest point at 9s. 4d. It was no wonder, therefore, that there was general distress among the wage-earners in the country, who were not always willing to endure their miseries in patience. There were slack times in the winter months, when their labour was little in demand, and the thrashing machines, which were then being introduced on the large farms, seemed likely to rob them of much of the employment that existed. The artisans in the manufacturing towns, among whom the distress was even greater at that time, had like fears, justified for a while at least, of the machinery which threatened to displace them. There had been riots, followed by merciless legislation. A few years later there was a general ground swell among the agricultural population of the Southern Counties. "To break all the thrashing machines in the county," was their war cry: "to have two shillings a-day wages" was the ideal of their hopes. At Winchester a Special Commission sat in December, 1830, for the trial of the rioters: 270 prisoners were tried; 14 were found guilty of capital offences.

Here in our own neighbourhood the labourers were stirring, but the movement took another

form. Perhaps few of the machines were to be seen at Bramshott or at Headley, for there was little said about them; but the Union Workhouse close at hand, gaunt and bare as it must then have been, was to their eyes a hateful symbol of dependence on the cold charities of farmers, Guardians, and Justices, and on this and on others like it they would vent their fury. It is true that its inmates were comparatively few, fatherless children and old folks for the most part, while the Guardians of Bramshott paid largely for the rent of those who received outdoor relief, and had their cottage at home at Hammer, and another which they had lately bought at Conford for a sum of £35 to house an aged man or two who shrank from the great barrack of the Union. Whatever may have been the cause, a noisy mob assaulted it, doing serious damage to the building, and frightening the poor helpless inmates. A well-known neighbour met them on their way and they spoke to him with glee of what was done; "Oh Mr. Curtis, it is a pity you were not at Headley when we broke into the Workhouse. You would have laughed if you had seen the tiles fly. Tell the people at Alton to look out as we are intending to attack the Workhouse and Breweries, after we have been to Selborne." A messenger was sent in hot haste to Winchester for troops, and special constables sworn in (Curtis, *Hist. Alton*, p. 125). The farmers,

startled at the outbreak, held a meeting not long after to consider what action they should take to quiet the growing disaffection. They resolved, not indeed to pay 2 shillings a day, as had been asked, but to get allotments for the men out of the barren waste of the Manor of which the Bishop of Winchester was lord. It was assumed that his sanction would readily be granted, and indeed many squatters had already in Whitmore Bottom and elsewhere broken up bits of the heath-land where they pleased. The same year an Act of Parliament was passed to empower Overseers to enclose manorial waste or crownland up to 50 acres in each case with the consent of the Treasury or the lord. But no attempt was made as yet to encroach on Woolmer Forest.

Sympathy with the suffering people was naturally coupled in some cases with an indignation that was not always careful of its words about the social blunders and class selfishness to which much of the misery was due. A Richard Carlile was indicted for "a seditious libel" as contained in his letter "to the insurgent agricultural labourers," in which he went so far as to say "You are much to be admired for everything that you have done during the past month, for as yet there is no evidence before the public that you are incendiaries or even political rebels. Much as every thoughtful man must lament the loss of property—much as the

country must suffer by the burnings of farm produce now going on—were you proved to be the incendiaries, we should defend you by saying that you have more just and moral cause for it than any king or faction that ever made war, had for making war. . . . Yours is a state of warfare, and your ground of quarrel is the want of the necessaries of life in the midst of an abundance," etc. Not content with a heavy fine inflicted on Carlile, the guardians of order attacked a more redoubtable opponent, William Cobbett, who had hotly espoused the labourers' cause, and criticised in unsparing terms in the monthly papers, which he called his "two-penny trash," the shortcomings of the squires and clergy, and the misgovernment of the privileged classes. "The labourers are told," he wrote, "that their acts of violence and particularly their burnings can do them no good, but add to their want by destroying the food that they would have to eat. Alas! they know better; they know that one thrashing machine takes wages from ten men, and they also know that they should have none of this food, and that potatoes and salt do not burn." In the course of his trial he obliged Lord Brougham to admit that he had himself given some encouragement to the strong language used upon the subject, and the jury could not agree on any verdict to condemn him. The *Rural Rides*, which he had

written a few years before after long wandering in Hampshire and elsewhere, are of real interest for their vivid descriptions of country life, coloured as they are by many whimsical prejudices and antipathies of the extremest type, as when he calls the potato a "soul-degrading and man-enslaving root," and denounces the "nasty canting Methodists who inveigle the pennies even from servant maids." His criticisings therefore do not always mean much to us now, and there was probably no good cause for his attack on Sir James Macdonald of Woolmer, of whom he says, "he was pleading for a thumping place, and he has got it. But he was a greedy eater of the taxes before, and therefore none but fools have been deceived by him." Strong language, we must remember, was more usual then than now, and Sir Archibald Macdonald, the father of Sir James, had not scrupled to accuse Lord North in Parliament of being "lazy, indolent and incapable, evasive, shuffling, cutting, and deceptious, plausible, artful, mean, insolent, confident, and cowardly, a poor, pitiful, sneaking, snivelling, abject creature" (*Annual Reg.*, 1826). The 'thumping place' referred to by Cobbett was the appointment to be Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Isles, which was followed, however, by his death within a month, and the *Annual Register* duly noted that he was nephew to the Marquis of Stafford, the Duchess of

Beaufort, the Countess of Harrowby and Viscount Granville. His monument in the chancel of the church is one of merit.

It is curious to note in connection with the remedy for riots suggested at Headley, that Cobbett had made at Bishops Waltham years before a proposal to the Vestry to ask the Bishop of Winchester to grant an acre of waste land to every married labourer. All, however, but the village schoolmaster voted against it, on the ground, he writes, that it would make the men "too saucy," and that they would "breed more children," and "want higher wages." At Bramshott the enclosure of the waste found little favour. In 1831 the Vestry passed a resolution to ask the ratepayers to signify their assent in writing to an agreement to employ in proportion to their rate, and at a wage to be defined, the unemployed labourers of the parish, for whom the way-wardens could find no work. As many as 26 were often set to dig stones on Hindhead or on Stanley Common, but there were still more standing idle. After some delay the proposal was accepted, and the wage of 1s. 8d. a day was fixed for able-bodied men, including even farmers' sons, so widespread was the pressure. An Act indeed was passed next year to legalise the enforcement of agreements of this kind, passed by three-fourths of the ratepayers, subject to the assent of a majority

of the justices in petty session. It was soon found that an unpopular parson might under such a labour rate fare badly at the hands of angry tithe-payers. At Pulborough the Rector could be forced by such a system to employ 62 men, and to pay besides £420 to a common poor rate. This, it was observed, was "a most effectual mode of reducing the church to apostolic poverty." It was an extreme case only, but there was an obvious injustice in an arrangement which would press hardly not merely on a tithe-owner who might have little need of labour, but also on any householder who had neither business nor land.

The accounts shew that in the year 1832 there were 50 receiving regular payments from the parish, many more occasionally relieved, together with 11 illegitimate children and a few old folks in the hamlet or the Union workhouse. In 1833-34 as much as £1348 was spent, the rate being 14s. 6d. in the pound. It is fair to note, however, that house property was assessed at this time at an exceedingly low figure. The largest house in the parish stood at £25, and substantial dwellings which have now grown into mansions were as low as £6 13s. 4d. The land appears to have been reckoned at nearly its actual value, and inns, mills, and shops at a considerable rate (note 25). In connexion with the assessment which has been

mentioned for houses like those at Chiltelee, Hewshott, and Shorts, it is of interest to notice that Fitzherbert in the 16th century describes in his typical parish of Dale the manor house, with offices and "two cross chambers of stone, or brick, or timber, together with the barns, oxhouse, hayhouse, stables, garden, and orchard, and the demesne lands and meadows, as let all together at precisely the same sum of £6 13s. 4d."

The manifold evils of the existing system had long been universally deplored, and a strong Commission had been engaged in collecting evidence, which filled at last many folio volumes, on the administration of the poor laws, and the social effects which they produced. The Bramshott rate of 1833-4 was alarmingly high, but the report of the Commission shews that there were many cases worse. At Rye, in Sussex, the rate was 21 shillings in the pound. At Shipley it was 27. At Cholesbury it reached the startling figure of 32 shillings. The results described are natural. The population was a small one, and sixty years before there was but one person who received parish relief, but by this time the land was almost entirely abandoned, the poor were thrown wholly upon the rates, being set to work upon the roads and gravel pits, and paid for that unprofitable labour at the expense of another parish, for a 'rate in aid' had been obtained to keep

the families from starving. But the financial burden was very far from being the whole of the mischief that was caused. "The experience of a very few weeks served to convince me," wrote an Assistant Commissioner, "that this evil (the burden of the rates), however great, sinks into insignificance when compared with the dreadful effects which the system produces on the morals and happiness of the lower orders. . . . A person must converse with paupers, must enter workhouses and examine their inmates, must attend at the pay-table, before he can form a just conception of the moral debasement which is the offspring of the present system, he must hear the pauper threaten to abandon his wife and family unless more money is allowed him, threaten to abandon an aged bed-ridden mother, to turn her out of his house, and lay her down at the Overseer's door, unless he is paid for giving her shelter; he must hear parents threatening to follow the same course with regard to their sick children; he must see mothers coming to receive the reward of their daughters' ignominy, and witness women in cottages quietly pointing out, without even the question being asked, which are their children by their husband, and which by other men previous to their marriage; and when he finds he can scarcely step into a town or parish in any county, without meeting with some instance or other of this character, he will no longer

consider the pecuniary pressure on the ratepayers as the first in the class of evils which the Poor Laws have entailed upon the community" (Mr. Cowell).

Anyone who turns over a few pages of the baptismal register of Bramshott at this period, and notes in the Overseers' accounts the expenses of newcomers left by unmarried women on the parish, will not regard this language as too strong. The discouragement of filial and parental duty is illustrated in nearly every page. Payments for "looking after her mother," or for housing a daughter's child, are too frequent to be explained as assistance for exceptional need. John Monkhouse, the rector of the parish, had given a few years before most emphatic testimony as to the frequent immoralities among his people. Want of chastity, dishonesty, and sheep-stealing were very prevalent vices. The evidence as to the first is scattered by him broadcast over his register; the unmarried mothers are described without disguise; the fathers languishing in Winchester gaol or lately hung are very plainly mentioned. At the close of a summary account in 1812 he ends with the grave words: "I would give ten of my parishioners for one honest man, till the whole population was renewed. Society would then be most respectable and agreeable. With this observation I close the book, wishing my Parishioners were the best of all people. Alas!" The writer dealt with

plain facts and not merely morbid fancies. It is painful to contrast the picture with the state of things in earlier ages when the manorial courts enforced their own simple system of police, and class rule in the form of assessments of wages by Quarter Sessions, and disastrous Poor Laws, had not as yet stimulated the growth of vices which a pitiless criminal legislation failed entirely to repress.

Local traditions, preserved in the memory of long-lived natives of the district, agree with the gloomy estimate which has been quoted. Here in one cottage on Passfield lived a worthy family, whose grandsire was hung for sheep-stealing, though the neighbourhood believed that he suffered for another's crime. Here in Wakener's Wells the hiding-places had been found under the heather, where the carcases of the sheep were hidden. There constables drawn from the whole country side were watching the approaches to the hamlet in the hills which was being searched for stolen goods, when the house-breakers had been more than usually bold. Carters were afraid to drive their wagons over Hindhead in the dusk, lest nimble fingers should lighten their load as they passed by. In the royal forests the herds of deer were thinned rapidly by gangs of poachers till it seemed useless to replace them. William Cobbett, as he travelled through the country, found the churches on Sundays bare and empty, where in his boyhood

the hobnailed shoes had clattered past him by the hundred.

One fatal effect of the system of allowances was that labourers whose parish pay would eke out scanty wages were preferred by the employers to all others. We may take an instance from the Report of the Commission, that of "a hard working industrious man, named William Williams. He is married and has saved some money, to the amount of about seventy pounds, and had two cows; he had also a sow and ten pigs. He had got a cottage well furnished; he was a member of a Benefit Club, from which he received 8s. a week when he was ill. He was beginning to learn to read and write, and sent his children to the Sunday School. He had a legacy of about £46, but he got his other money together by saving from his fair wages as a waggoner. Some circumstances occurred which obliged me to part with him. The consequence of this labouring man having been frugal and saved money, and got the cows, was, that no one would employ him, although his superior character as a workman was well known in the parish. He told me at the time I was obliged to part with him, 'Whilst I have these things I shall get no work, I must part with them all. I must be reduced to a state of beggary before any one will employ me.' I was compelled to part with him at Michaelmas—he has not yet got work, and he has

no chance of getting any until he has become a pauper; for until then the paupers will be preferred to him. He cannot get work in his own parish; and he will not be allowed to get any in other parishes. Another instance of the same kind occurred amongst my workmen. Both these are fine young men, and as excellent labourers as I could wish to have. The letter mentioned another instance of a labouring man in another parish, who had once had more property than he, but was obliged to consume it all, and is now working on the roads. Such an instance is enough to demoralize a whole district. I say myself that the labouring man who saves where such an abominable system prevails, is foolish in doing so."

Another witness said: "I once congratulated my bailiff on the prospect of his inheriting, by his wife, a little real property; he replied, 'It would be of no use to me, sir, for I should be less able to get employment, and could obtain no relief until it was all spent.' When the gentlemen and clergy in the neighbourhood contemplated the establishment of a savings-bank, I thought it my duty to address the young men on the subject, after morning service, and urge upon them the propriety of saving for their protection against the contingencies of sickness and old age. They listened to me very attentively. One or two persons asked me whether I honestly

thought it would not be for the benefit of the parish more than themselves if they saved? I was startled by the inquiry, but, on consideration, I found that I really could not state that it would be for their benefit to save" (Mr. Chadwick's Report).

The reader of the *Rural Rides* will remember that Cobbett attacked the 'Provident Societies' of the time as founded solely in the interests of the upper classes. The discouragement of industry from the administration of the Poor Laws is illustrated in nearly every page of the Report. They "have been," according to its index, "a national institution for discountenancing the industrious and honest, and for protecting the idle, the improvident, and the vicious." "Wages," says an assistant Commissioner, "considered as the result of a bargain between the capitalist and the labourer, for the advantage of both parties, can hardly be said to exist. The farmer, like the parish, commonly pays every man according to the wants of himself and his family, and then gets what work he can out of him. Under this system the lot of every man is the same. No one can raise himself by good conduct above the ordinary level, no one can sink himself below it by the opposite course. The results, as far as we were able to observe them, corresponded with the expectation which is excited by contemplating the causes in operation. The veracity, the frugality, the industry,

and the domestic virtues of the lower classes must be very nearly extinct" (Mr. Wrothesly). The question was asked of one witness, "Have you observed the operation of the advantage given to paupers over independent labourers?" "It is too notorious," was the answer. "When the working men who have never been in the habit of obtaining parochial relief, get into the workhouse by any accident, they are only to be got out with the greatest difficulty, the parish officers are forced to bribe them out. The workmen say they cannot go out unless certain sums are given them to 'set them up.' Scarcely a week passes in which three or four bargains of this sort are not made; but after having seen what sort of a place they have to fall back upon, they commonly spend the money and return in a few days" (Mr. Chadwick). The work that was found for them by the parish was generally admitted to be of a most unremunerative kind. At Bramshott many men were constantly thus employed during the winter months. They were paid however for the most part by the loads of stone quarried or broken, and some check could in such cases be kept upon them. Great improvements of the turnpike roads, for the use of numerous coaches and post-horses, were effected at this time. Abundance of metal was provided, causeways were raised above the hollows, and twists and bends were straightened as from the

'Wheatsheaf' to Liphook, where the old course wound near the present Railway Station by the 'White Hart,' and again beyond the 'Seven Thorns,' where the road turned to the east and included a portion of the waste which has been lately enclosed and built upon. In many cases however the work was of little value, as at Gamlingay, where the stone-gathering was rather an injury than a benefit to the land, and the produce of work done by paupers was £11 10s., to be set against £616, the expense of their employment.

We have seen that a considerable proportion of the inmates of the Union House consisted of illegitimate children from Bramshott and the two other parishes. The baptismal registers show that in early days such cases were very rare. Their later frequency was due to the effect of the law respecting bastardy, the sole object of which was to save expense to the parish, but which in fact enormously increased it. Its effect was also, to use the words of Mr. Cowell in his report, "to make the want of chastity on the woman's part the shortest road to obtaining either a husband or a competent maintenance, and to encourage extortion and perjury." "A woman of Swaffham receives 14s. a week for her seven bastards, being 2s. a head for each of them. The clerk to the magistrates informed me that had she been a widow with seven legitimate children, she

would not have received so much by 4s. or 5s. a week according to their scale of allowance to widows. A bastard child is thus about 25 per cent. more valuable to a parent than a legitimate one. The premium upon want of chastity is here very obvious." It was to save such expenses to the parish that hasty marriages were often forced on by the Overseers, and at considerable cost at times, as has been shown already from the accounts of Bramshott, for a special license sometimes was procured, and a ring bought, and a bribe even offered to the bridegroom. The details however are not furnished in our Registers, as in the following curious account of the wedding of a pauper at Compton :

Putting up horse and cart, - -	£0	1	2
The clergyman for a licence, - -	3	3	0
Hire of horse and cart, - - -	0	6	2
Clergyman not at home, - -			
Expenses at Swan Inn, - - -			
Keeping the male pauper in Hall, -	1	19	4½
Paid for dinner the day he was married,			
Constable, - - - - - -	0	3	6
Gold ring to be married in, - -	0	8	0
Parson and Clerk, - - - -	0	15	0
	£6	16	2½

It was proposed by the Commissioners that the mode of administering relief which had been tried with success in Southwell should be generally

adopted, and that all such assistance, other than medical, to able-bodied persons and their families, excepting in well-regulated workhouses, should cease at a certain date. Accordingly "the wholesome surgery of the new poor law," as it has been called, which if necessary was very harsh, enforced the workhouse test. The results at Bramshott soon appeared in the accounts. By 1837 the rates had dropped to £300, including even considerable payments to the county, as well as the interest on loans. Only five recipients of outdoor relief remained, and few children became a permanent burden to the parish.

The new law abolished also several of the old forms of settlement which had led to many summary removals, and to frequent litigation, the cost of which appears in our accounts, as also that of counsel's opinion on disputable points. There was still ample room left for legal quibbles, witness such a lawsuit as that in which neighbouring Colmer was involved with Funtington in Sussex, which lasted for five years and cost the little parish £800, of which the Rector's share was £62. Sir William Erle of Bramshott Grange was judge, and those who knew him will believe that he keenly felt the iniquitous absurdity of such a burden laid on a few poor ratepayers, when the question in dispute was whether an appeal against the removal of a pauper should be heard or no.

The new Act had authorized the vestry of a parish to defray, under certain conditions, the expenses of those who wished to try their fortunes in new homes across the seas, and in 1842 the Vestry of Bramshott agreed to advance a sum not exceeding £30 "for the purpose of emigrating William Voller, Elizabeth Shotter, and George Elson—familiar local names—together with their families." A few years later Mrs. Beagley and her six children were sent out in the same way. Occasional loans for other purposes are also mentioned for sums under £10. The rates rose to £400 and £500, with no material change, until in 1870 the common house for the three parishes was sold, and the little union dissolved, Bramshott finding a place henceforth in the distant union of Petersfield, with little gain to the ratepayers or the poor. The tiny almshouse at Hammer also was given up to other uses, and in 1836 was let to a Richard Hampton for £2 6s. a year, but of this £1 6s. was to be remitted on the somewhat singular condition that he "should attend church regular to look after the children." A dog-whipper was kept in early days in many a parish to keep the dogs quiet in or outside the church at service time, but here there was more fear of noisy children. The experiment, however, did not seem successful, and next year the house was sold for £30.

Notwithstanding the disastrous administration of

the Poor Laws the population of the parish had been steadily increasing. It had risen from 940 in 1811 to 1006 in 1821, and the progress has been since maintained up to 1730 in 1901. The size of the old church, which was built at a time when the parishioners were very few, was now quite out of proportion to their numbers, and the enlargement of the Transepts in the 14th or 15th century, though it gave more space to the families of the Manor houses, was of little general use. There had been signs of discontent already. Refusals to contribute to a church rate for repairs had provoked threats of legal action. Probably the ground of the objection was the inadequate accommodation, for the nave was only 37 ft. 6 in. by 17 ft. 6 in., and there were no aisles. At any rate in 1734 the Vestry resolved to rebuild the body of the Church, and a strong Committee of landowners and farmers was appointed to prepare a scheme. Finally the plans of a local builder were accepted, and the expenses met by subscriptions and a voluntary rate. Architectural skill, it seems, was not desired, nor certainly was it shown in what was done. In place of the old nave, which was little wider than the present Chancel, a solid Assembly Room was built with flat ceiling, and square pews, and windows of the plainest type. There was little sense inside of any contrast between the venerable remains at the East End and the white-washed

BRAMSHOTT CHURCH. [To face p 297.

walls of the new nave, for the narrow Tower Arch was nearly blocked with large Reading Desk and Pulpit of the approved Hanoverian style. The writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* speaks of the Church as it stood in 1795 as "a remarkably handsome building," as it doubtless was internally in its proportions, for the Schoolhouse over the S. Porch only disfigured it externally, and the "innumerable fragments of painted glass" gave an antique character and richness to the old walls, for which the new Royal Arms over the Tower Arch were perhaps an inadequate equivalent. The space under the Tower had been called the Belfry, no doubt because the bell-ropes hung there, but now the Ringers stepped in and out of a little room above the Arch, and ceased to be members of the congregation. Recent as the changes were, and solid as was the masonry, it was swept away again in 1872. The old church, as it had once stood, could not be restored, for its dimensions were quite inadequate to modern needs, but at least something in better form was raised, in more harmony with ancient models.

The Churchyard, or as it was called of old churchliton, which showed before scant trace of reverent care, became worthy of the natural attractiveness of its position, and instead of the ungainly tombstones of the past, which alone were safe from intrusive sheep and pigs, memorials of more dignity and

Christian symbols rose in the ground newly added, where some names may be read that were once well known in the busy world without.

Something had been also done meantime in the interests of education. Beyond the Sunday School at the Church there had been hitherto little elementary instruction in the parish, though village dames and others had gathered a few scholars round them for such lessons as they were competent to give. In 1827 John Monkhouse, who was Rector, wrote in the Burial Register a draft of his own will, by which he demised a considerable sum for the education of the children of the parish, or at least for those whose parents were not "given to whoring, thieving, cheating, tricking, biting, over-reaching, and extorting." This would have limited the boon indeed if his own estimate of his people's "extreme dishonesty and great unchastity" was true. He died a few months afterwards, leaving nearly all he had for the maintenance of a school. But his eccentricities of speech and manner gave colour and support to the plea which was raised by the next-of-kin that the will should be set aside. The legal delays were long and costly, and probate of the will was only granted finally in 1841, when the Provost and Scholars of Queen's College, Oxford, as trustees under his will, secured what was left of his personal estate for the school which he had had at heart. An old house

with sufficient ground—probably the Bell Inn of early days—was bought for the purpose near the Church, and good school buildings were erected, to which children were admitted free of charge, as the endowment supplied a very modest salary for the Master. This system was continued until 1871 when, in view of the general education which was soon to be enforced, steps were taken to supply by voluntary effort additional schools in the hamlets of Conford, Liphook, and Hammer, thus providing ample appliances for the whole parish, together with buildings for religious use on Sundays.

It would be hazardous to assume that educational progress has had much direct effect on the moral condition of the parish. Certainly there was in some respects a marked change in the forty years that followed the death of Mr. Monkhouse. He made in one page of the Register this entry, "Of the 72 marriages in the last ten years, ending 1820, not less than 69 females have been unchaste before marriage." The Registers themselves and the Overseer's Accounts go far to substantiate the statement. In 1870 and subsequent years the lapses actually known were very few, and there was not much evidence of dishonest habits, such as there had been before. It cannot be said that the influence of the Church can be traced in this improvement. The long period of its torpid inactivity was continued far into the 19th century.

Enthusiasm had been discredited in high places; it had not shown itself often in this country side, or rather it took refuge with the earnest Sectaries, whose sturdy works in brick and stone are left as witnesses in many a little hamlet far from the parish churches. The 'Bible Christians' were forward in such work in the neighbourhood, and their zeal won many adherents for a generation or two, and deserves now the tribute of an honourable mention. The reform of the administration of the Poor Laws had perhaps more direct effect than Church or School or Chapel. There was a revival of industry, and self-respect, and homely domestic virtues. Kindly influence and gracious examples were not wanting in the wealthier homes. Conspicuous among these lives the memory of Sir William Erle, sometime Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, who bought Bramshott Place, the manorial house of which he replaced with a new mansion. There are many to whom the memories of this kind old neighbour are fresh and fragrant still, and in the words of a funeral inscription in the church, not in this case too strong, "The world knew him as the Judge; they think of him as the friend, whose cheerful piety, wide sympathies, and open-handed bounty, won the respect of all around him. They loved him most who knew him best" (note 26).

Close by, at Hollycombe, Sir Charles Taylor sold

his estate in 1866 to John Hawkshaw, the engineer (knighted in 1873) who carried out the well-known works of the Severn Tunnel and the great Ship Canal from Amsterdam to the North Sea; the Manors both of Chiltelee and Rogate-Bohunt passed into his hands and are now parts of the estate of his successor.

The 'Folle' or 'Foley' of the former of these two Manors grew from time to time during the century by the enlargements of four distinct owners from a farmhouse among the woods to be one of the largest residences in the Parish, and the estate has spread across the borders of the neighbouring Manor.

Other families had also settled in the parish, and did their part to enlarge the social outlook and raise the moral standard. For many years there has been no lack, both from those who are still living, and those who have passed away, of generous outlay and warm-hearted thoughtfulness for the interests of their less favoured neighbours.

Until far into the century there had been few signs of marked material changes in the whole neighbourhood. No residential districts, with their florid patches on the landscape, had grown up on the North or South. The traveller who started in the early morning on the stage coach from the Belle Sauvage on Ludgate Hill saw little for long miles from Hindhead far on to Petersfield but here and

there a posting inn on the wide stretch of common, over which the children, not as yet brought into the schools, ran to fling their posies of violets or herts to tempt the pence from the passengers' pockets in return. Few families of means came to settle in the country. An old man, who was born about the beginning of the century, used to say that in his youth there was not a single carriage in the parish, beyond the post-chaises of the inns and the farmers' market carts ; saddle horses met all the requirements of the Squires. It was natural that fancies and sentiments, elsewhere exploded, should linger in the forest side. Some residents can still remember and can name the man who, tiring of his wife's company, took her from Bramshott with the halter round her neck, which was thought enough to make the contract legal, and sold her at Headley Fair. Indeed, several notices of such sales were given in the *Times* at the end of the 18th century, as taking place in open market at Smithfield and elsewhere, the prices varying from three guineas upwards, but in one case being only 6d. and a quid of tobacco. In time of infant sickness, especially from fits, the communion wine was pleaded for as the last hope of a despairing mother, even less than 30 years ago.

Even the high prices of the agricultural prosperity during the great war failed to bring much more of the waste under the plough. It was not till 1848

that enclosures began here on a large scale. On the North a wide tract of Headley Common was thus dealt with under an Act of 12 Vict., and much of what is now Grayshott was brought under cultivation or made available for building sites. On the Frensham side much of the adjoining waste was assigned to the owner of the Manor, remaining unenclosed for many years till its enforced sale gave unlooked-for opportunities to speculative land agents, and turned into a noted health resort what Cobbett had described as "certainly the most villainous spot God ever made," near "that sinkhole of a borough" Haslemere. In 1858 the borders of Woolmer Forest were invaded; portions of the waste were allotted to the commoners, and a direct road—straight as a French highway—was opened up to Greatham, instead of the bridle track by which the country folks were used to skirt the neighbouring hills and avoid the marshy ground below them. Other changes followed the completion of the railway line from Godalming to Portsmouth, the first sod of which was turned at Buriton in 1853. It had a disastrous effect at once upon the fortunes of the old 'Anchor' Inn, round which the hamlet of Liphook had grown up on the London Road, with its little population of postboys, cordwainers, blacksmiths, and beerhouse keepers. The 'Anchor,' like the 'Ship,' its humbler neighbour, had flourished greatly during the great war and

the following decades. It was there that 'Liberty' Wilkes, the agitator, often broke his journey to and from his cottage in the Isle of Wight, and there he wrote some of his gossiping letters to his daughters, sometimes in praise of the delicious tench he caught hard by, at other times in less pleasant mood about the 'dull and sour' hostess, Mistress Keen, or the 'dreary' stretch of country from Guildford to Liphook, or the noise and dust on the crowded road along which recruits were hurrying to join their ship, or home-bound sailors were spending their prize money in carouses at the 'Anchor' tap. There, when the war was over, came Marshal Blücher with a goodly number of notables entertained by the Prince Regent. There, in later days the Duke of Clarence, when High Admiral, often looked in for friendly talk with the host, Dowling, who before had held an office in his service. The example was followed by a long train of noble personages, whose names have lingered in the traditions of the house down to the times when the Duchess of Kent came repeatedly with the Princess Victoria, and they showed themselves in the garden or at the windows to the crowd that gathered round and presented their portraits to the hostess when they left. But the glories of the old hostelry faded speedily away, together with all the stir and bustle of the posting days, when the railway to Portsmouth was completed.

Liphook was deserted by the travelling world, and an interval of dulness and stagnation followed for it, when the lovers of the picturesque and the seekers after health resorts had not as yet discovered the attractions of the forest lands, to which the eyes of Wilkes and Cobbett had been sealed.

The condition of the 'Anchor' in 1865 is thus described by Grantley Berkeley. "Time was when . . . the roar of wheels and the cries of 'first and second turn out,' either 'up or down,' rang through the merry air, and kept the locality in loud and continuous bustle night and day. Now, however, the glory of the roadside inn was gone. . . . There were the long ranges of stables, once filled by steeds of every step and temper. . . . They reminded me of my own. Where in my full stalls, twenty goodly steeds used to feed, little else than a mouse stirs now. . . . In this long line of disused stabling I paused. . . . A broken broom, covered with very ancient cobwebs, lay under one manger, and the remnants of a stable bucket under another. Farmers came in and farmers went out occasionally and tied up their horses anywhere; so that all the tumbling down stalls were dirty, and the whole thing given up to dreary desolation. . . . No smart waiter, with a napkin twisted round his thumb, came forth to my summons; the few people in the house looked like broken-down farming men and women, and seemed

to be occupied in the selfish discussion of their own tap" (*Anecdotes of the Upper Ten Thousand*, 102).

Under more skilful management the ancient inn speedily regained some of its earlier attractiveness and comfort, and summer guests filled—often to overflowing—the rooms that still bore the names of the royal visitors of old, but the twenty-six coaches and public vans that used to pass through Liphook in the twenty-four hours were only fading memories now, and for a while there was little to be seen on the great highway but here and there a farm waggon, or for a short time longer the little carts of the fish dealers from the coast to which the panting dogs were harnessed. The housewives made themselves their weekly visits to the village shop, and grocers' carts were as yet unknown in the country side. The growth of Liphook was of course arrested; population was now to gather round the Railway Station, still further from the centre of the parish, and a new road to connect the two groups was made by the owner of Chiltelee in lieu of a right-of-way across his park, which had connected the Wheatsheaf and White Hart with the Haslemere Road.

Meantime the large farm system had been extended and reached its climax about 1880, when nearly all the cultivated land was used by a few landowners, and the farmhouses all turned into cottage tenements. Agricultural depression followed; rival industries

attracted labour ; wages have risen notably ; the large farms are being broken up again, the farmhouses are reverting to their earlier uses, and agricultural labour seems likely to become a vanishing quantity in the near future, while the development of building industry and the formation of military camps is altering the face of rural life in what was the peaceful district where three counties meet.

NOTES.

Note 1, page 3. 'Shot' is used indeed for a division of the common field or meadow as by Fitzherbert, c. xxii. Speaking of a meadow of 122 acres which "lyeth in dyvers shotes of length," he distinguishes the 'overshotte,' 'nether shot,' and 'myddle shote' (sic). So Professor Maitland speaks of a "field called Swinecroft at Cambridge with a furlong or shot of some five and twenty acres in which 9 persons hold strips and 8 churches take tithe" (*Township and Borough*, p. 58). A field in Bramshott is called 'Shot Field' in the Tithe Schedule.

It may be noted that, as in South German speech, the *s* in Hampshire became often *sh*, and *c* was pronounced *ch* (Ciltelee became Chiltelee and Calewcroft or Calvecroft, Chalcroft).

Note 2, p. 8. Edward of Salisbury had 33 manors in Wiltshire where he was *vice comes*, and many others in the Southern Counties. In the account of Lacock Abbey (*Monast.*, vi., 501) he is made the son of a gallant Norman, Walter le Ewrus, Count of Rosmer, and said to have been born in England, and to have had the whole demesne of Salisbury and Ambresbury bestowed upon him for his loyalty. Ordericus Vitalis speaks of Edward of Salisbury as standard bearer at the battle of Noyon in 1119, "a brave champion renowned for his prowess and unflinching resolution."

The difficulties connected with his relation to the noble line of Salisbury were discussed by J. R. Planche at the meeting of the Archæological Association, 1859. See also Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv., 799.

Note 3, p. 19. (*Charters of Selborne*, c. 1225-30). Grant from William de Arundel to the lady Sabina, his sister, for the support of his daughter Maud, of that land in the vill of Lidesethe which Richard de Dunewatere held . . . paying annually to him a quit rent of one pair of gloves, worth one penny . . . Witnesses . . . Mathew rector of the church of Brembelsete and others.

Note 4, p. 28. The name Liphook does not appear in very early records. For several centuries we find only La Lepe, Lupe, Leope, or Lippe, the position of which is defined by a deed of conveyance as at the junction of two roads leading to Tunbridge and Radford respectively. In 1388 mention is made of 4 acres in 'La Leephok' near a tenement of William de la Leep : and in 1418 we read of a farrier of 'Liephok.' Lepe, Lippe and the like occur frequently in German place-names, but belong to an unknown root of apparently non-German origin (*v.* Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*).

As to the second syllable it may be noted that (1) the Flemish 'hoek' and English 'hook' appear often for a neck of land or angle, but the meaning does not suit our local features. (2) The Norman *hougue* (Shetland heog, Norse haugr, German hoch) often occurs in place-names in Normandy and Guernsey for a hillock or sepulchral barrow, such as are found on the Downs above Liphook, or on a larger scale at Hollywater, but soon disappear on cultivated ground (Métivier, *Dict. Fr. Normand*). (3) The 'Wyk' (village) often referred to in early days near la Lupe, disappears from the records when Liphook is named. It is possible that it was absorbed in the later word. Spelling in those days went for very little.

Note 5, p. 29. William of Chilteleye, Clement of Widenhale, Roger atte Stepe, Peter the Clerk, men of this Parish, affirm upon their oath that the ninth of corn, wool and lambs of the aforesaid parish of Brembelshute was worth for the year aforesaid four pounds ten shillings. And they say that the aforesaid ninth could not amount to the assessed value of the aforesaid church because the

church is endowed with sixty acres of land and a garden which are worth thirty shillings a year. And they affirm that the tithe of hay and other small tithes together with offerings and mortuary are worth 116 shillings and eight pence. (*Nonarum inquisitio.*)

Note 6, p. 46. Forty-five cases of *purprestura* are recorded in 1287 in Alresshate (Aldershot), one extending over 31 acres. (*Crondale Records*, p. 98.)

Note 7, p. 48. For the variety of charges in such mills see Fitzherbert, *Surveyenge*, c. ix. "There be so many dyvers grauntes made by the lorde, some men to be grounden to the twentie parte, and bondmen to the xii parte, some men to be tolle free, and some to be hopper free . . . and in some place to take the tolle after the strength of the water."

Note 8, p. 51. Thus a *nativus* of Muchelney was fined because he gave his son *literatura* without the sanction of the lord.

Note 9, p. 68. A number of such Hatches are mentioned in the Court Rolls. There was 'le parsonage hatch' at the top of what is now the Rectory Lane: the Cold Ash gate on the London Road, the Waytes hatch near Hewshot farm in the field still called Hatch field. On the South there was the hatch by the Lupe on the Portsmouth Road, and Bridge Hatch on the way to Lynchmere. On the West Steep Hatch closed a road to Passfield and Hammer Hatch an exit near the Paper mill.

Note 10, p. 69. Fewtrell is but slightly changed from veutrier = hunt the boar; later forms such as 'beautrer' and 'fewtree' may be found. Cf. the veltro of Dante. Bacsete (now, Bagshott) was held *per Serjantiam veautriæ.*

Note 11, p. 70. A few more illustrations may be given of the origin of some local surnames. A spot near Bramshott Place was called 'falghe' in ancient times. This is an early form (still Scandinavian) of 'fallow' (yellowish), and was given perhaps when the heath was first broken up, or from some local feature that cannot now be seen. The tenant was for generations known as

'atte falghe,' or 'atte falwe,' and then 'falgher,' which in course of time became 'Valower,' 'Vallor,' 'Voller.' All these changes can be traced on the Rolls or other deeds.

A few acres to the north of Liphook School, on rising ground, were known as 'calewcroft' or 'calvecroft,' probably as a bare spot contrasting with the 'Wykewode' near at hand. The copyholder who held it was William atte Calvecroft, and later 'Chalcraft.'

The ford by the Wyk at Liphook gave a designation to a 'Wykford,' or 'Wakeford.' The Brewers were so called from the 'bruera' (heather) round them, and not from the beer they brewed.

A stranger from the 'Kingsgate' at Winchester settles in later days at Bramshott, and brings his surname with him, which becomes, however, changed by Hampshire mouths to 'Kingshott.'

Note 12, p. 75. A writer in *Notes and Queries* (Nov., 1856) suggested this explanation of the word, and quoted a line from the *Roman de Rou* of Wace:

"Mult veient loges à foillies" (12, 136),

but the derivation met with little favour, and no reference was made to the authority of Ducange.

Note 13, p. 76. So Bohunt or Bog-hunte was sometimes written Bowhunt, and Loseley was changed to Lowseley.

Note 14, p. 87. The estate of the Rev. John Monkhouse consisted partly of real property, as the house and shop near Bramshott Mill, and the tenement which has been since converted into 'the Cricketers' at Passfield. Such property could not be acquired by will for the purpose of the charity.

Note 15, p. 96. The statement in the text has been given on the authority of the County Histories and the Burrell MSS., but there is no reference in Dugdale to any property of Bruerne in Rogate, nor does any appear in the State Papers at the time of the suppression. It is possible that the word 'bruera' (heather) was misread in an old charter.

Note 16, p. 128. Cf. Tusser's *Champion Country and Severall*:

More profit is quieter found
Where pastures in severall be;
Of one seely acre of ground,
Than champion maketh in three;
Again what a joy it is known,
When men may be bold of their own!

Cf. also Fitzherbert's *Surveyenge*, p. 96, "How to make a township that is worth 20 marks a yere worth £20 a yere."

Note 17, p. 146. A passage from Harrison's *England* may be compared with the above: "Yeomen are those who are freemen borne English, and may dispend of their owne freeland in yearelie revenue to the sum of 40 shillings sterling, or £6 as money gothe in our times. They are for the most part farmers to gentlemen, and with grasing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of servants (not idle so as gentlemen do, but such as get both their owne and part of their master's living) do come to great welth, insomuch that manie of them are able and do buie the lands of unthriftie gentlemen, and often setting their sonnes to the schools, to the universities, and to the Ins of Court . . . doo make them by those means to become gentlemen" (i. 133).

Note 18, p. 148. An Edward Mervyn was buried at Bramshott in 1590, and several of his daughters had been baptised there from 1575 to 1588. This was probably a branch of the family residing on the manor.

Note 19, p. 161. "The furlongs lie in great sweeping curves, usually like a reverse J or capital S, the long narrow fields of the present farms thus perpetuating the graceful curves of the acres—curves which can be only due to the twist of the great eight-ox plough as the leading oxen were pulled round, in preparation for the turn as they approached the end of the furlong by the villan of the leading ox."—Isaac Taylor, *Domesday Survivals*, p. 61.

Note 20, p. 163. The Scots pine is indigenous in the British Isles, but in the New Forest it was first introduced in 1776.

'After this it was largely planted in the poor sandy soils throughout several of the Southern Counties," though much decried by Cobbett and others (J. Nisbet, *Our Forests*, p. 201). The larch was introduced in England in 1629 (*ibid.*, 225).

Note 21, p. 164. Conveyance by John Hooke of a parcel of waste land in Lippucke adjoining to a house belonging to the Chapter of Chichester for 2000 years, in the manor of Chiltelee (old indenture).

In 1605 Anne Mervyn was lady of the manor of Bramshott, and John Hooke, a tenant, was excused attendance at the Court. In 1609, however, he was lord.

Note 22, p. 168. M. H. T.,
virum vere reverendum,
JOHANNEM HOOKE,
Evangelio salutifero dudum devotum
Praesentiam Θεανθρωπου vivificam sperantem.

Note 23, p. 168. There seems to have been some difference of opinion between the Commons and the Lords as regards the family. "Whereas Francis Tilney Esq. was nominated by this house to be Sheriff the Lords desire that John Hooke may be Sheriff in his place. Resolved that the house doth adhere to the said Fr. Tilney" (*Journal of House of Commons*, v., 372, 1648).

Jan. 1649. "Resolved that John Hooke Esq. of Bramshott be High Sheriff instead of Robert Jasor" (vi., 107).

Note 24, p. 276.

COPY OF AN ACCOUNT IN OBEDIENCE TO THE ORDER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 1819

AS ENTERED IN THE BURIAL REGISTER.

Parish Rates for the year ending March 25,	1816			1817			1818			1819		
	£	S.	D.	£	S.	D.	£	S.	D.	£	S.	D.
Total amount, - -	855	0	0	1037	13	5	1531	9	9	1777	2	6
Amount paid for purposes other than that of relief of poor, - - -	39	3	0	85	17	0	46	11	4	67	16	0
	815	17	0	951	16	5	1484	18	5	1709	6	6

Note 25, p. 283. PAROCHIAL ASSESSMENT

	In the year 1830.	1840.
The Anchor Inn (Mrs. Dowling), -	£30 0 0	£30 0 0
Woolmer (Sir. J. Macdonald), -	25 0 0	33 6 8
Foley (H. Budd, Esq.), - -	12 0 0	16 0 0
Downlands (N. Kent, Esq.), - -	10 0 0	13 6 8
The Rectory (Rev. W. Nicholson), Frimstone Lodge (Dr. Berry),	8 0 0	8 13 4
Bramshott Place (J. Sparrow, Esq.), Hewshott (F. Ford, Esq.), Conford House, (J Butler, Esq.), Osbornes (J. Fullick, Esq.),	6 13 4	8 17 9

Note 26, p. 300. The many local benefactions of Sir William Erle included the gift of the Church Clock, a considerable part of the expense of the rebuilding of the Church and the enlargement of the graveyard, as well as the site of Liphook School, and liberal help towards its building fund. He also rebuilt many of the cottages in Liphook to improve the sanitary conditions of the tenants' homes. As an old Wykhamist he gladly acquired by exchange a little estate close to Bramshott Place which belonged to Winchester College, and the College arms, with the inscription "Manners makyth man," affixed to the Malthouse wall, preserve the memory of the transfer.

APPENDIX A (p. 3).

VARIOUS FORMS OF SPELLING "BRAMSHOTT."

	Authorities.	*Dates.*
Brenbresete,	Domesday,	11th century.
Brembesete,	Feet of Fines,	do.
Bremessete,	do.	do.
Bremesete,	Rotuli Curiae Regis,	12th century.
Bremshete,	Entries of Shielvalty of William de B.	1285-90.
Bremeshete,	do.,	do.
Bremlessete,	Selborne Charters,	13th century.
Brembescete,	do.,	do.
Brembelsete,	do.,	do.
Brambelsate,	do.,	do.
Brembelchete,	do.,	do.
Brambelsete,	do.,	do.
Brambessethe,	do.,	do.
Brembelschete,	do.,	do.
Brambesete,	do.,	do.
Brambeshate,	do.,	do.
Brambelshete,	do.,	do.
Brambeshate,	do.,	do.
Bramschate,	do.,	do.
Brembilsite,	Testa de Nevill,	do.
Bremblesathe,	do.,	do.

Brembilsete,	Patent Rolls,	13th century.
Brembleshet,	do.,	do.
Brembeshete,	Close Rolls,	do.
Bramsete,	Crondale Manor Deeds,	do.
Bramshete,	do.,	do.
Bramsshate,	do.,	do.
Bremsshete,	do.,	14th century.
Brembschet,	Subsidy Rolls,	do.
Brembelsshitte,	Episcopal Registers,	do.
Brembelshete,	do.,	do.
Brembesshete,	do.,	do.
Brembeschete,	do.,	do.
Brembeschet,	Placita de quo Warranto,	do.
Brambeschote,	Bramshott Court Rolls,	do.
Brembelshute,	Inquis. post mortem,	do.
Bremblesshute,	Episcopal Registers,	15th century.
Bremshete,	Bramshott Court Rolls,	do.
Bremshet,	do.,	do.
Brembshute,	do.,	do.
Brambshet,	do.,	do.
Bramshute,	Inquis. post mortem,	do.
Bremshote,	do.,	do.
Bramschote,	do.,	do.
Brambulshote,	Subsidy Rolls,	do.
Bramleshote,	Episcopal Registers,	16th century.
Bremshott,	do.,	do.
Bramshote,	do.,	do.
Bramshutt,	State Papers,	(1541).
Bramshed,	do.,	16th century.
Bramshotte,	Will,	do.
Bramshut,	Crondale Deeds,	do.
Brumshote,	State Papers,	17th century.
Bramshoot,	Wood's Athenæ Oxon.,	do.
Bromshot,	Pilgrim Bottle,	do.

Bremshutt,	Ludshot Rolls,	17th century.
Bramshot,	Parish Registers,	16th to 19th cent.
Bramshott,	do.,	do.
Brampshott,	do.,	do.
Brampshot,	do.,	do.
Bramsott,	do.,	do.
Bramshear,	Harleian MSS.,	17th century.

APPENDIX B (p. 6).

The relative position and boundaries of these Manors, or of the parts of them with which we are here concerned, are shown on the accompanying map. It will be seen that as the Parish itself has its outlying fragments of Crouch House on the South, and Kingswood Firs to the North, so there is an isolated portion of what was once Harting Manor, now Rogate-Bohunt, entirely enclosed within Chiltelee, while part of Oakhanger is completely surrounded by other Manors. So part of Bramshott Manor was in *Domesday* times reckoned in Hartley Mauduit, though this cannot now be traced. Kingswood Firs is not now claimed by any larger unit, and almost certainly was not itself a separate Manor, and was probably once only part of the waste of Bramshott.

Extracts from "Domesday Book" relating to the Manors of Bramshott.

Edward of Salisbury holds *Brenbresete* of the King. Two freemen held it of King Edward as an alod. It was then as now assessed at 6 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 plough, and 10 villans and 3 bordars with 4 ploughs. There are 2 mills worth 100 pence and 2 acres of meadow.

There is wood for 10 swine. In the time of King Edward it was, as now, worth 100 shillings. William Mauduit claims 1 hide of this land which was in Harlege (Hartley Mauduit) and the Hundred and the Shire testify to this.

The King himself holds *Ciltelei*. Lauch held it of King Edward as an alod. It was then assessed at 2 hides, now at ½ a hide. There is land for 2 ploughs. There are 4 villans with 2 ploughs. There is wood for 30 swine. It is and was worth 53 shillings.

The same Hugh (de Port) holds *Lidessete*. Alwin held it of King Edward as an alod. It was then assessed at 2 hides, now at 1. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne is 1 plough and 5 villans and 5 bordars with 5 ploughs, and a mill worth 7 shillings and 6 pence and 4 acres of meadow. There is wood for 50 swine. In the time of King Edward and afterwards it was worth 60 shillings, now 100 shillings.

Edwin holds *Acangre*; he says that he bought it of King William, but of this the Shire knows nothing. Alwin held it of the King, now Richard holds of Edwin. In the time of King Edward it was assessed at one hide. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne are 2 ploughs, and 8 villans and 6 bordars with 3 ploughs, 2 serfs, 2 acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward and afterwards it was worth 40 shillings, now 60 shillings. The King's reeve claims of this half a hide for pasture for the King's oxen. The Shire testifies that he cannot have pasture or pannage of the King's wood as claimed except through the Sheriff.

The Earl Roger Montgomeri himself holds *Hertinges* in demesne. Countess Gida held it of King Edward. It was then assessed at 80 hides. Now at 48 hides. There is land for 64 ploughs. In demesne are 10 ploughs, and 128 villans and 35 bordars with 51 ploughs. There are 20 serfs and 9 mills worth 4 pounds and 18 pence. There is wood for 100 hogs. Of the land of this Manor the clerks of St. Nicholas hold 6 hides and

have there 6 villans and 7 bordars with 5 ploughs. So in the time of King Edward.

APPENDIX C 1. (p. 10).

Extracts from Early Documents relating to the Lords of the Manor of Bramshott.

A.D.

1194. John of Bremesete at law with Henry Walensis (*Rotuli curiae regis*, p. 122).

1207 (*Rotuli de oblatis*). John of Brembelsete pays half a mark.

Henry III. (*Testa de Nevill*, i., 231). John of Brembilsite holds a military fee in B. of an old enfeoffment from the Count of Salisbury and also of the King in chief.

1250 (*Selborne Charters*, p. 36, 39, etc.). John of B. witness repeatedly.

1270-82 (*Selborne Charters*, p. 63, etc.). W. of Brambeshate witness.

1272 (*Exerpta e rotulis finium*). Thomas of Brembelshete and Joanna, his wife, pay half a mark for an assize held in the presence of A. de Greynville.

1297 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*). William of Brembelsete named as taxor of the 8th and 5th for the County of Berks.

1300 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*). William of Brembeshete appointed for the County of Southampton at the request of the prelates and barons for the better observance of the Great Charter and the Forest Charter, to hear and determine complaints of transgressions against the said charters, and to enforce the late Statute of Westminster.

1300 (*Brocas deeds*, p. 340). Wm. of B. witness with Ric of Burhunte.

1306 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*). Wm. of Brembleshete appointed the justice to deliver the gaol of old Sarum.

Edw. I. (*Placita de quo warranto*, 766). Wm. de Brembleshete summoned on jury to decide as to rights of John de St. John in his manors of Basing.

Accounts of William de Brembleschete who died on Saturday before Hilary 1309.

Funeral expenses. Bread bought, 46s. 2d.; wine, 2s. 8d.; two hogs, 7s. 6d.; 1 butt of cyder, 12s.; 5 pigs, 20d.; 1 hare, 3d.; 3 sheep, 4s. 6d.; 5 hens, 10d.; 6 geese, 10d.; 1½ gallon oysters, 6d.; eggs, 4¼d., cups and dishes, 10d.; 50 lbs. wax, 31s. 3d.

In stock, 2 sheep, 3s.; 13 geese, 2s. 3d.; 9 capons, 18d.; 8 hens, 12d.; 1½ carcase of beef, 6s.; 4 bacons, 12s.; ½ butt of cyder, 5s.

Bread given to poor and friends, 6s. 8d.; ale, 15d.; chaplain, 66s. 8d.

1413. William of Brambelshete, M.P. for county of Sussex.

1432 (Ancient deeds. Hants. Record Off. C. 2658). Grant of lands by Wm. Bremshet lord of Gatcombe and Joan his wife to Baldwin their son.

1460 (Inquis. p. m.). John Bramshote at his death had no lands in the county of Southampton.

1468 (Anc. Deeds, C, 307). Grant by Baldwin Bremshet to John Bremshet of his manor of Lytylgatecombe.

APPENDIX C II. (p. 15).

Extracts from Documents relating to the Lords of the Manor of Ludshot.

Henry III. (*Testa de Nevill*, p. 230). Military fiefs held of Robert St. John in the County of Southampton. William of Arundel holding in Lidessathe half a knight's fief.

1230 (*Selborne Charters*, p. 2-22). Various grants from William of Arundel, son of Hugh of Arundel, in the vill of Ledessete (Ledesette, Lideschete, Lidsete, Ludshette), the seal having for arms three lions rampant, or a lion couchant, or a griffin (?)

Rudeherne, la Frith, Burifield, Hurland specified.

(*Deed at Queen's College, Oxford*). Award of arbitrators between the Rector of Bramshott and the Priory of Monks' Sherborne as to tithes in Ludshot.

1328 (Inquis. p. m.). John St. John of Basing held Ludeshote manor with Basing, Warneford, Monk Sherborne, and many others.

1337 (*Close Rolls*). To Willm. Trussel, escheator. "Order to deliver to Thomas de Aspalle and Mirabilla his wife, late the wife of Hugh St. John, tenant in chief, the manors of Chauton, Warneford and Ludesshote, which the king assigned to Mirabilla, to hold as dower of the lands which belonged to Hugh at his death . . . the manor of Ludesshote extended at 117s. 2¼d. yearly."

1400. Series of Court Rolls, much worn and tattered, at Queen's College, Oxford, begin at this time.

1428 (Inquis. p. m.). Thomas Poynings St. John Knight, Basyng manor, and many others, with Ludshutte manor, advowson of Monk Sherborne.

1511. Court Roll of William Powlett.

1572. Court Roll of Richard Knight.

1589. Court Roll of William Tichborne.

APPENDIX C III. (p. 15).

EXTRACTS FROM DOCUMENTS RELATING TO LORDS OF THE MANOR OF OAKHANGER (Okhangre, Achangre, Halkangre, Hokangre, Ochangre, Occangre, etc.).

1230 (*Selborne Charters*). Various grants of James of Oakhanger, and others of his family to Selborne Priory.

Henry III. (*Testa de Nevill*). Gilbert of Achangre holding A., by sergeancy of huntsman. James of H. holds Hochangre by serjeanty of 4 days at his own cost of old enfeoffment of the king in chief; it is half a knight's fief. Serjeanty of James of H. for which it was his duty to keep a pack of white hounds for the king.

1297 (*Patent Rolls*). License to William of Oakhangre to enfeoff Thomas Paynel of his manor held in chief.

1319 (*Close Rolls*). John Paynel held in chief lands in Ochangre by service of maintaining a bridge in O.

1333 (*Close Rolls*). Edward St. John and Eva his wife, widow of William Paynel, recovered of John Paynel lands in Okhanger as dower of Eva. John de Hastings executor.

1334 (Inquis p.m.). $\frac{2}{3}$ of the manor of Hokhangre belonged to John de Hastynges at his death as tenant in chief.

1339 (*Patent Rolls*). Licence for Lawrence de Hastynges, Earl of Pembroke, to enfeoff Thomas West knight of 2 parts of the manor of Okhangre said to be held in chief.

1387 (*Patent Rolls*). Pardon for 40 marks, paid to the king by Alice, late wife of Thomas West, knight, of the trespass committed in the acquisition, in fee for the said Thomas, by Roger Griffith and Andrew Kirkeby, without licence, of the manor of Okhangre held in chief, and in their grant thereof without licence, to the said Thomas and Alice, in fee tail etc. and restitution of the premises to the said Alice as acquired.

APPENDIX C iv. (p. 15).

Extracts from Documents relating to the Manor of Chiltelee.

1227 (*Feet of Fines*). John of Holtham conveyed a messuage and yardland in Chilteleye to another of like name.

1387 (*Patent Rolls*). Pardon for 20s. paid in the hanaper by John Weston of Chiltelee to the said John and Elizabeth his wife for acquiring to themselves and his heirs from Walter Marchal of Bramdean and entering on, without licence, the manor of Follee, held in chief, and grant to them of the premises as acquired.

1398 (*Brocas deeds*, p. 442). John Weston of Chiltele agrees with Thomas Brocas of Compton to surrender Folle for two payments amounting in all to 50 marcs, deeds to remain meantime in the hands of Henry Popham, and Bernard Brocas to occupy the manor.

APPENDIX D (p. 30).

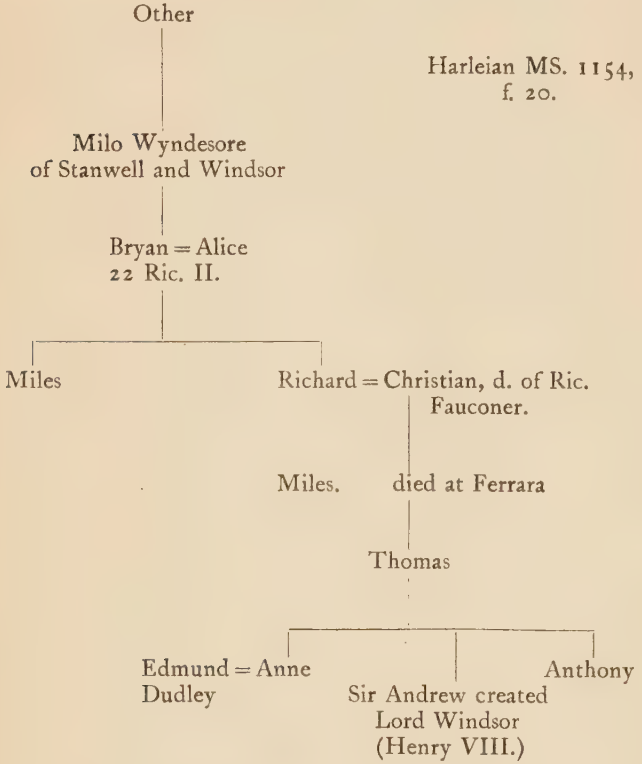
LIST OF RECTORS OF BRAMSHOTT.

		Patrons.
1225-30.	Matthew R. of Church of Brembelsete.	
1309.	Nicolas de Brembleshete, acolyte.	
1314.	Roger de Motherby.	Henry le Scrope.
1316.	Richard de Langeford.	Henry le Scrope.
1321.	John of Abbotsbury.	Andrew of Hoftofte.
1328.	Richard de Louth, acolyte.	
1341.	John de Londin.	William de Brembelshete.
1343.	Richard atte Mere.	

		Patrons.
1358.	Richard Coufoude.	William de Brembeschete.
1367.	Richard Snodenham.	John Bremschete.
1379.	Bartholomew Dunnyngeworthe.	do.
1382.	John Warde.	do.
1420.	John Towker.	
1453.	John Hasard.	
1462.	Gilbert Cudworth.	
1501.	John Bromer, Prior of Towynton.	Edmund Dudley.
1509.	James Casseray (*alias* Cause).	Edmund Pakenham.
1517.	Thomas Burley.	John Burley (*pro hac vice*).
1523.	Richard Walter.	John Dudley.
1534.	Robert Valoer (*alias* Valor).	William Wayte (*vice* John Dudley).
1549.	Edmund Marvyn.	Edmund and Elizabeth Marvyn.
?	Thomas Bays.	
1557.	John Forth.	Richard Rouse (*pro hac vice*).
1575.	Thomas Bluet.	
1598.	Francis Scott.	James Marvyn.
1629.	Thomas Boxall.	Henry Hooke.
1662.	Robert Hall.	John Hooke.
1667.	Henry Woolnough.	do.
1672.	John Hooke.	do.
1685.	Thomas Horne.	do.
1702.	Joseph Jackson.	Queen's Coll., Oxford.
1730.	Joseph Steadman.	do.
1733.	George Gibson.	do.
1745.	Joseph Brown.	do.
1758.	Jonathan Dennis.	do.
1791.	Joseph Hewson.	do.
1809.	John Monkhouse.	do.
1828.	William Nicholson.	do.
1832.	Lancelot Bellas.	do.
1869.	William W. Capes.	do.

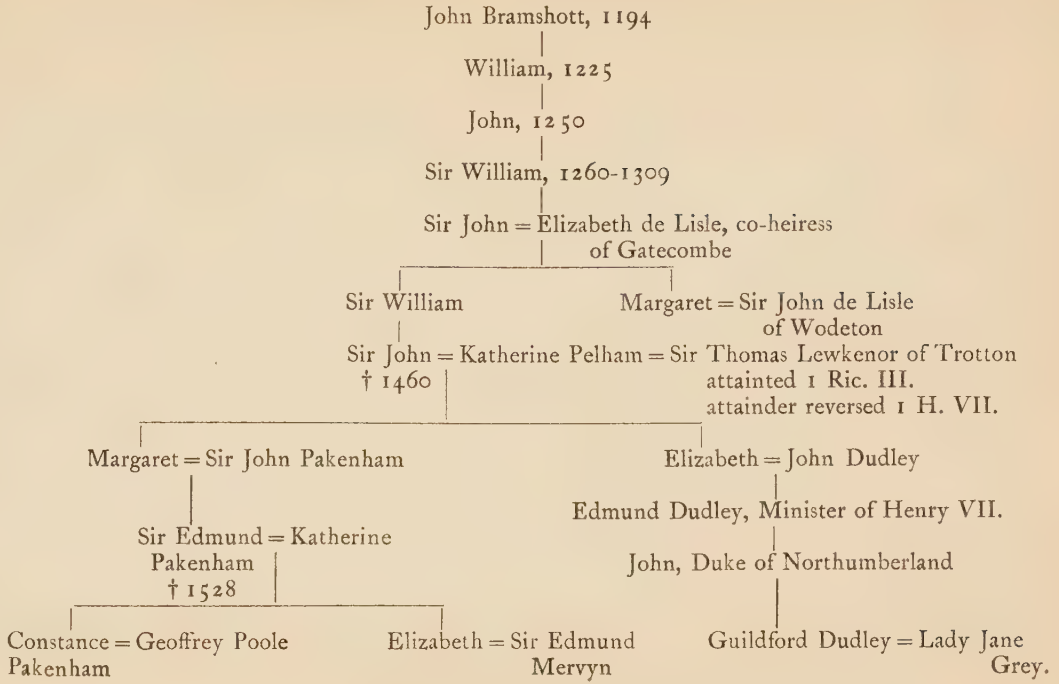
APPENDIX E 1. (p. 118).

EXTRACTS FROM PEDIGREE OF THE WINDSORS.



APPENDIX E II. (p. 121).

PEDIGREE OF THE BRAMSHOTTS.

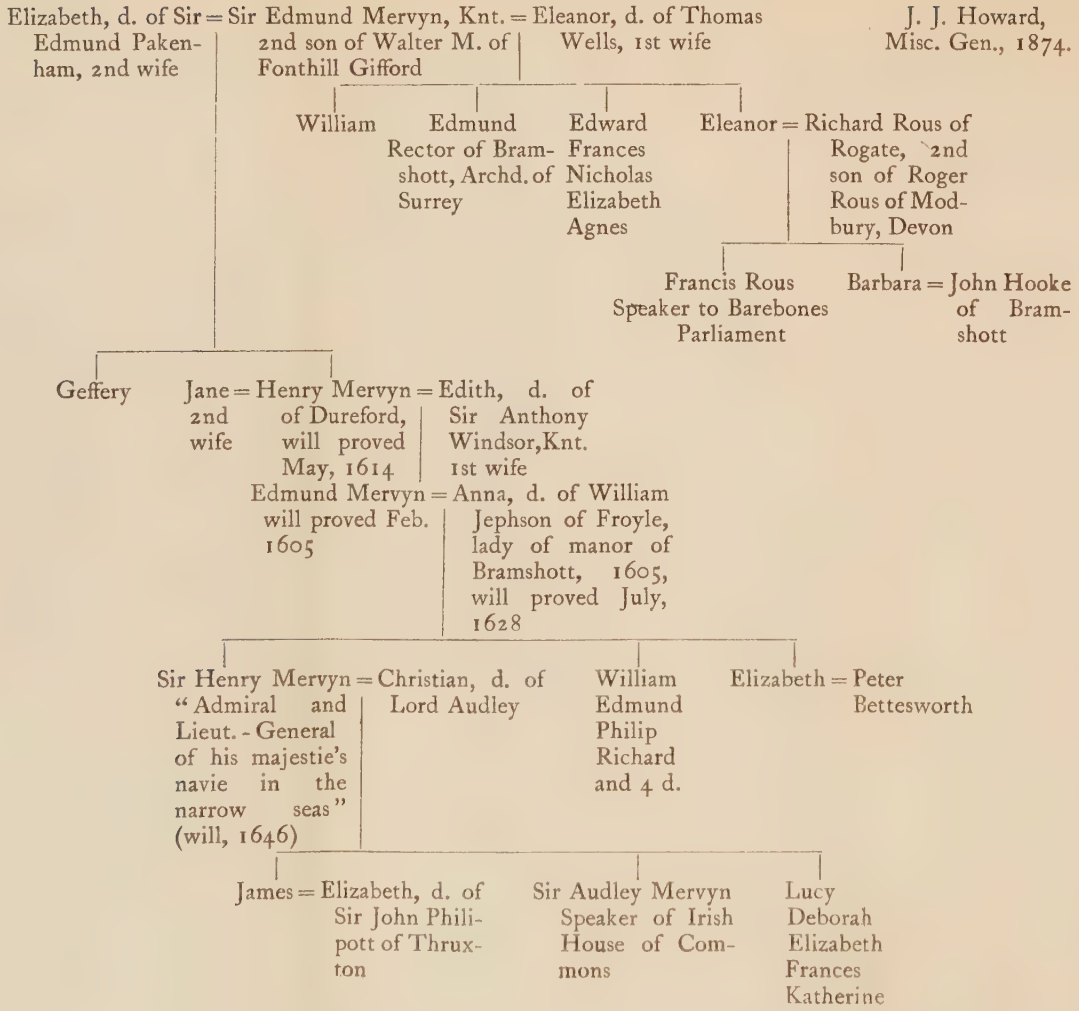

John Bramshott, 1194
William, 1225
John, 1250
Sir William, 1260-1309
Sir John = Elizabeth de Lisle, co-heiress of Gatecombe
Sir William
Margaret = Sir John de Lisle of Wodeton
Sir John † 1460 = Katherine Pelham = Sir Thomas Lewkenor of Trotton attainted 1 Ric. III. attainder reversed 1 H. VII.
Margaret = Sir John Pakenham
Elizabeth = John Dudley
Edmund Dudley, Minister of Henry VII.
Sir Edmund Pakenham † 1528 = Katherine
John, Duke of Northumberland
Constance = Geoffrey Poole Pakenham
Elizabeth = Sir Edmund Mervyn
Guildford Dudley = Lady Jane Grey.

APPENDIX E III. (p. 149).

THE DUREFORD BRANCH OF THE MERVYNS.

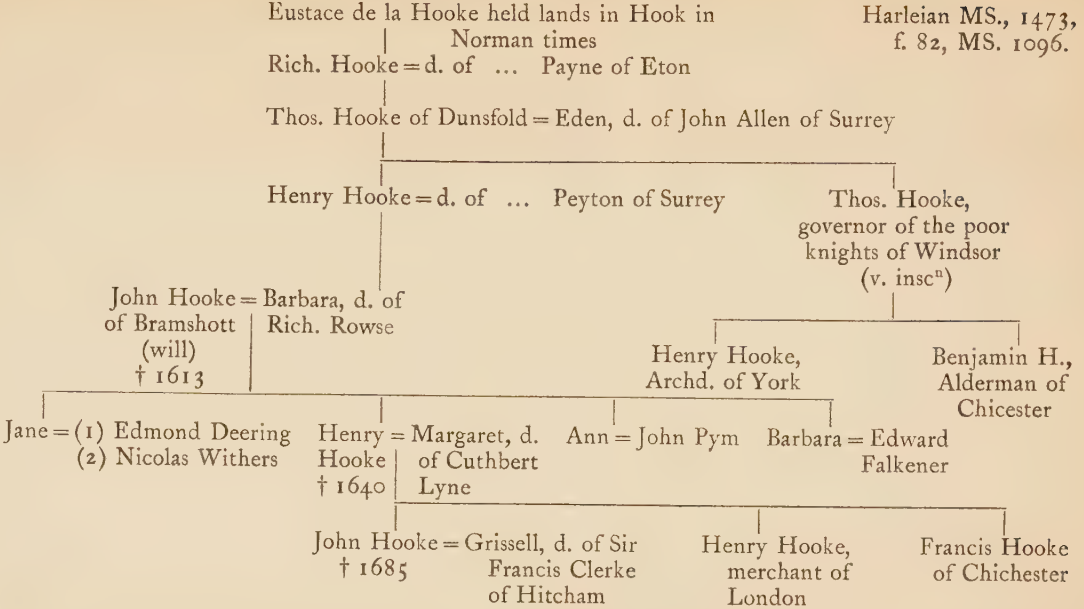
APPENDIX E. III. (p. 149).

THE DUREFORD BRANCH OF THE MERVYNS.


Elizabeth, d. of Sir Edmund Pakenham, 2nd wife
Sir Edmund Mervyn, Knt., 2nd son of Walter M. of Fonthill Gifford
Eleanor, d. of Thomas Wells, 1st wife
J. J. Howard, Misc. Gen., 1874.
William
Edmund Rector of Bramshott, Archd. of Surrey
Edward Frances Nicholas Elizabeth Agnes
Eleanor
Richard Rous of Rogate, 2nd son of Roger Rous of Modbury, Devon
Francis Rous Speaker to Barebones Parliament
Barbara
John Hooke of Bramshott
Geffery
Jane 2nd wife
Henry Mervyn of Dureford, will proved May, 1614
Edith, d. of Sir Anthony Windsor, Knt. 1st wife
Edmund Mervyn will proved Feb. 1605
Anna, d. of William Jephson of Froyle, lady of manor of Bramshott, 1605, will proved July, 1628
Sir Henry Mervyn "Admiral and Lieut.-General of his majestie's navie in the narrow seas" (will, 1646)
Christian, d. of Lord Audley
William Edmund Philip Richard and 4 d.
Elizabeth
Peter Bettesworth
James
Elizabeth, d. of Sir John Philipott of Thruxton
Sir Audley Mervyn Speaker of Irish House of Commons
Lucy Deborah Elizabeth Frances Katherine

APPENDIX E iv. (p. 164).

PEDIGREE OF THE HOOKES.


Eustace de la Hooke held lands in Hook in Norman times
Harleian MS., 1473, f. 82, MS. 1096.
Rich. Hooke = d. of ... Payne of Eton
Thos. Hooke of Dunsfold = Eden, d. of John Allen of Surrey
Henry Hooke = d. of ... Peyton of Surrey
Thos. Hooke, governor of the poor knights of Windsor (v. inscn)
John Hooke of Bramshott (will) † 1613 = Barbara, d. of Rich. Rowse
Henry Hooke, Archd. of York
Benjamin H., Alderman of Chicester
Jane = (1) Edmond Deering (2) Nicolas Withers
Henry Hooke † 1640 = Margaret, d. of Cuthbert Lyne
Ann = John Pym
Barbara = Edward Falkener
John Hooke † 1685 = Grissell, d. of Sir Francis Clerke of Hitcham
Henry Hooke, merchant of London
Francis Hooke of Chichester

The first of the line at Bramshott seems, by marriage with Barbara Rowse, to have been connected with the Mervyn family, who held the Manor as late as 1605. (Court Roll.) Richard Rowse had as patron already presented to the benefice of Bramshott.

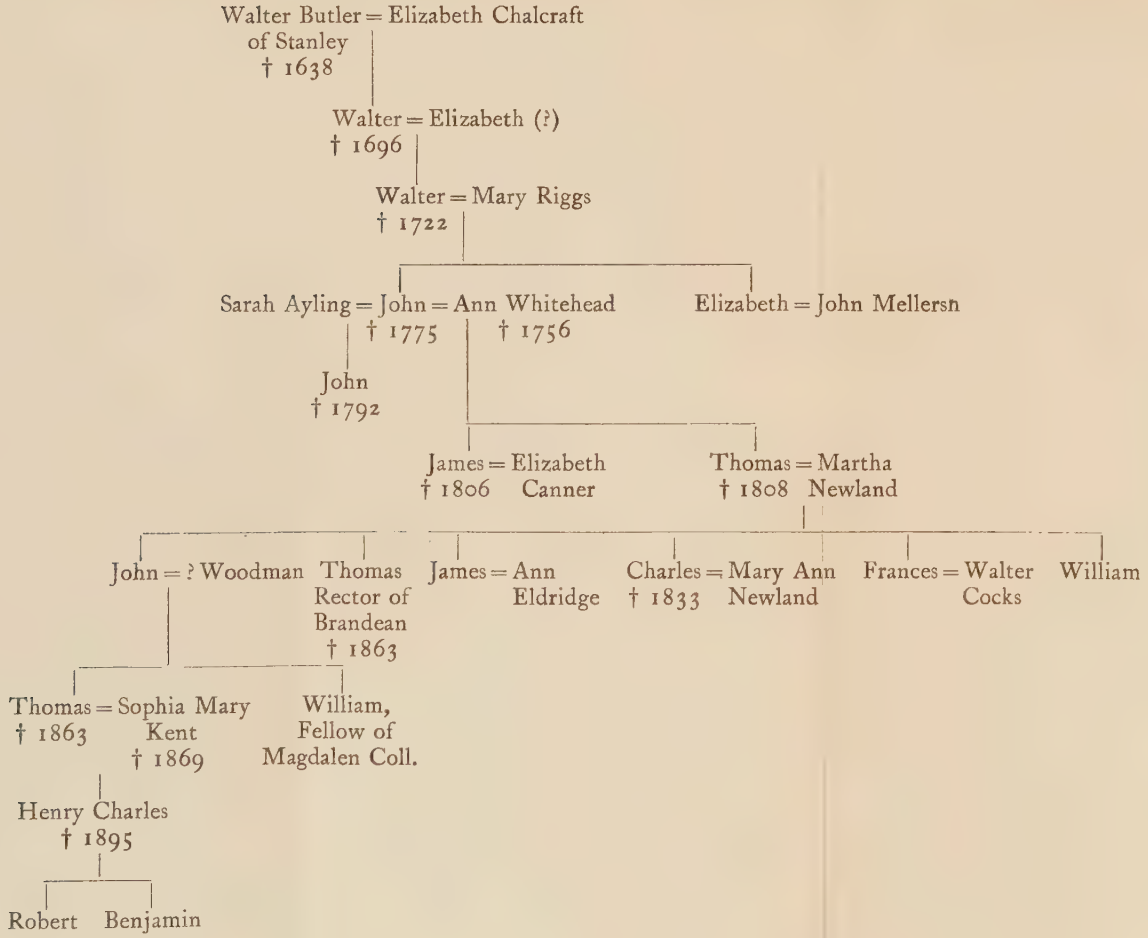
The Deering family, who came from Romney Marsh, was settled both at Petersfield and Petworth.

APPENDIX E v. (p. 273).

EXTRACTS FROM PEDIGREE OF THE BUTLERS.

APPENDIX E v. (p. 273).

EXTRACTS FROM PEDIGREE OF THE BUTLERS.



APPENDIX F (p. 206).

An Accompt of the disbursem[ts] made by the Overseers of the poore for the last yere 1669

Inprimis p[d] the widdow Cover this yere for her board,	05 12 06
Payd John Tribe, - - - - -	05 03 00
Payd to William Garlott, - - - -	00 17 00
Payd Thomas Hounsome in his Sicknes, -	01 13 06
Payd Catherine Caplin in money, - -	00 06 00
Payd for 7 ells of Canvas for sheets for her, -	00 07 00
Payd for a Load of Peat carrying for John Tribe,	00 02 00
Payd for a p. of Stockins for John Tribe, -	00 03 03
for a coate for him, - - - -	00 05 06
for making the coate, - - -	00 01 06
to him when hee was sicke, - -	00 01 00
Payd for this booke, - - - - -	00 02 03
Payd to John Adams for 10 load of Peat, -	00 05 00
Payd to Henry Clere for the Widdow Clarkes' house rent, - - - - -	01 00 00
Payd to Edward Shrubb for 8 load of Peat, -	00 12 00
Payd to Edward Watridge for 2 load of Peat,	00 03 04
Payd for carrying 3 load of Peat for the Widdow Cover, - - - -	00 06 00
Payd for carrying 2 load of Peat for the Widdow Clarke, - - - -	00 04 00
Payd for carrying 2 load of Peat for Daniell Avery, - - - - - -	00 08 00
Payd for carrying a load of Peat for John Booker, - - - - - -	00 02 00
Payd for carrying a load of Peat for Catherine Caplin, - - - - - -	00 04 00

Payd John Smith in Corne, - - -	00	10	08
Payd for helping to remove Widdow Cover,	00	01	00
Payd for a Warrant, - - - - -	00	00	06
Payd for makeing 2 rates and transcribing this Accompt, - - - - -	00	02	00
Sum total, - - -	18	13	00

ACCOMPTS OF THE OVERSEERS
FROM 4TH APRILL 1670 TO 23RD APRILL 1671.

Received of the Overseers for the last yeare, - -	00	15	8
John Hooke, Esq. (lord of Bramshott), - - -	1	16	6
Mr. Wall (Waterside), - - - - - -	1	05	0
Henry Woolnough, Rector, - - - - -	2	00	0
Nicholas Wither, gen., - - - - - -	0	03	9
William Stone (The Anchor), - - - -	0	09	9
John Purdee (Westland), - - - - -	0	17	6
John Hooke, Esq., for pte. of Lowslee, - - -	0	04	9
Widd Streator (Hill house), - - - - -	0	09	0
William Purdee (The Bell), - - - - -	0	07	6
Robert Boxall (Quince), - - - - -	0	15	0
John Bristow (Passfield), - - - - -	0	08	3
John Hamilton (Bohunt), - - - - -	0	10	6
James Collyer (Stone house), - - - - -	0	07	0
Widd. Hudson, - - - - - - -	0	10	6
Henry Chitlee (Burghfields aft White Hart), - -	0	07	0
Richard Lutman, - - - - - - -	0	09	0
Widd. Tribe (Grigg's Green), - - - -	0	07	6
William Legg, - - - - - - -	0	02	6
Nicholas Porter (Hewshott Hill), - - - -	0	07	0
John Neale (Dudmans), - - - - - -	0	06	6
George Gasse (The Ship), - - - - -	0	02	6

Mr. Yalden's land,	0	01	9
Henry Newman,	0	05	0
Thomas Steed,	0	03	0
William Bone,	0	01	6
Roger Heather (Heathers now Village Hall),	0	01	6
John Butter, gent.,	0	02	0
William Tribe (Thornhill),	0	03	0
John Hooke, Esq., for Lockes (Lake house),	0	06	0
John Benifold (Ludshot),	0	03	9
Richard Tribe (Parsonage land),	0	04	3
Henry Hounsham (Ludshot),	0	02	0
John Bicknoll,	0	01	6
Widd. Randoll,	0	02	6
Thomas Turke,	0	01	4
Henry Cleere (Passfield lower Farm),	0	15	0
William Tribe (Thornhill),	0	02	3
Widd. Hull,	0	01	6
James Quennell (Pescotts in Hammer),	0	00	3
Raphell Vallor,	0	07	6
Thomas Boxall (Shorts),	0	10	0
Robert Beedle (Cooper's Hill),	0	01	6
John Tribe,	0	01	9
Richard Bristow (Passfield Farm),	0	01	6
John Bridger,	0	02	0
Nicholas Mills (Wakeners Wells),	0	01	9
Edward Stent (Waites),	0	07	9
John Avery,	0	00	9
Henry Colepasse,	0	00	9
John Fulluke,	0	00	0
	17	17	3

N.B.—The holdings assessed have been added, when they could be identified.

ACCOUNTS OF THE DISBURSEMENTS OF THE CHURCHWARDENS, HENRY CHITTY AND JOHN ASLETT FROM APRELL 30TH 1677 TO APRELL THE 17 : 1678.

Payd ffor A Carpet for y^e^ Comuninen tabell,			02 07 06
Payd ffor Breed and Wine,			01 06 00
Payd ffor Washing the Surples,			00 02 00
Payd ffor Clarkes Wages,			00 04 06
Payd ffor mending and oyling ye beels,			00 02 07
Payd at the first Visatation,			00 07 00
given to poore peepell,			00 06 05
Payd att the visatation At Alton for the presentments given in for the Regester and the pareter and charges,			00 09 00
payd ffor making the Accounts,			00 01 00
Disbursments,			06 13 00

AN ACCOUNT OF Y^E^ DISBURSTMENTS OF Y^E^ CHURCHWARDENS FROM MAY Y^E^ 6 1686 TO MAY Y^E^ 13 1687 WILLIAM PURDEW AND RICHARD TRIBE.

Laid out at the Visitation,			00 9 00
Given to travellers at sevearall times,			1 2 00
Paid to the Constable the Quartridge Money,			01 16 00
Paid for three Bookes,			00 10 06
Paid for washing and mending the surplice,			00 04 00
Paid to Robert Glasher for worke about the church,			00 00 04
Paid for Bread and Wine,			00 14 8
Paid the Clarkes wages an oyling y^e^ bells,			00 04 06
Paid for Ringing of y^e^ bells y^e^ 29 of May, being his late Ma^ties^ Birthday,			00 2 6
Paid the Clarke for mend. y^e^ Churchliddon gate,			00 00 04
for writing this Account,			00 1 00
Laid out at y^e^ Visitation last,			00 09 10
Dis^t.^			04 15 02

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

An Account of the disburstments of Edward Morton and Richard Stent ffor the year 1696.

Paid for bread and Wine for 4 Communions, - -	00 11 09
Given away two a travelling man and 2 Comon Soldgers, - - - - - - - -	00 01 00
Given away two 14$^{s.}$ in company, - - - -	00 01 06
Given away two a travelling woman and a man which had a lost by fire, - - - - - -	00 01 00
Given A woman which had a lost by watter, - -	00 00 06
Given two A woman and a child : their whole parish burnt, - - - - - - - - -	00 00 06
Given two A man for deatt and two A travailling man,	00 00 04
Given two 3 woman which was taken by the french, -	00 00 06
Given two 2 men which was taken by the french, -	00 00 02
Given two A 11 seamen and soldgers, - - -	00 01 00
Given two A woman which had her house and goods burnt, - - - - - - - - -	00 00 06
Given two A seaman which had a pas and a man had a pas, - - - - - - - - -	00 00 06
Given two 5 duchmen, - - - - - - -	00 01 00
Given two men and ther ffammoles had ther houses burnt, - - - - - - - - -	00 00 06
Given two 2 seamen which had pases, - - -	00 00 04
Given two a man and a woman, - - - -	00 00 03
Paid for Bell ropes, - - - - - -	00 08 00
Given two a man and a woman had lost by water, -	00 00 03
ffor Riteing the Rate and macking the Accontes, -	00 01 06
	01 11 01

APPENDIX G (p. 226).

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF PARISH SETTLEMENT.

Southtonfs.

We the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor of the parish of Lysse in the county aforesaid whose hands and seals are hereunto sett and subscribed, Doe hereby own and acknowledge Elizabeth Hartley Widd., Mary Hartley her daughter, and Mary daughter of the said Mary Hartley to be all inhabitants off and legally settled within our said parish of Lysse and that wee and our successours for the time being shall and will take receive and provide for them and every of them whenever they any or either of them shall become chargeable. In wittnesse whereof we have hereunto sett our hands and seals this six and twentieth day of March Anno Dni 1720.

Witnesse hereunto
Nicholas Bridger.
John Ward.
Thoᴹ. Alldred.
John Bell.

Richd. Batt ○
John Inwood ○
} *Churchwardens.*

Wᴹ. Cowdry ○
X
the mark of
J. Wm. Jenkins ○
} *Overseers.*

To the Churchwardens and Overseers of the parish of Bramshott in the County of Southton.

Southtonfs.

Wee his Majᵗⁱᵉˢ Justices of the Peace whose names are hereunto written doe hereby allow of and confirm the security above written. Wittnesse our hands the day and year abovesd.

Robᵀ. Love.
Lewis Puckle.

APPENDIX H (p. 248).

A PARISH RATE OF 2/6 IN THE POUND 1792.

Andrews, Wm.,		4	17	6
Asslett, Thos.,		0	2	6
Baker, John,	for Chichester lands,	0	10	0
Betsworth, Wm.,	Quanford,	0	10	0
Do.	Foley,	5	15	0
Bridger, Wm.,	Kingswood,	0	5	0
Bridger, John,	The Wheatsheaf,	0	10	0
Bunch, Wm.,		0	10	0
Butler, Thos.,	Quanford,	4	0	0
Do.	Shorts,	7	15	0
Butler, Wm.,	Benifolds,	1	15	0
Chalcraft, Wm.	Quince,	4	2	6
Do.	Stones,	1	12	6
Do.	Kents,	5	5	0
Combs, Thos.,	Ewshot hill,	3	15	0
Cover, Wm.,		1	0	0
Do.	Glayshers,	3	12	6
Do.	Hare and hounds,	1	10	0
Do.	Marches,	0	17	6
Do.	Collyers,	3	15	0
Cover, Charles,		0	5	0
Colpis, John,		0	5	0
Dare, Mary,	Land and Mill,	4	10	0
Denyer, Richard,		0	15	0
Dobson, John,		0	5	0
Denyer, Frances,		0	3	9
Eade, John,		0	7	6
Eade, Wm.,		0	5	0

Elstone, John, -	-	-	-	0	10 0
Faulkner, Rich.,	-	-	-	0	13 9
Fulleck, John,	for Matthews,	-	-	3	7 6
	Chiltley,	-	-	7	10 0
	White Hart,	-	-	1	10 0
	Heathers,	-	-	1	7 6
	his own land,	-	-	1	5 0
	Radford,	-	-	1	5 0
	Lakehouse,	-	-	2	5 0
	Noah, -	-	-	0	7 6
	Old Place,	-	-	12	10 0
Gill, Esq.,	for Gentles,	-	-	1	5 0
Glaysher, Thos.,	blacksmith's shop,	-	-	0	8 7
Goodeve, Wm.,	for Grigs Green,	-	-	4	15 0
Knight, John,	for Adams, -	-	-	2	10 0
Keen, Eliz.,	for the Anchor,	-	-	4	10 0
	Ship,	-	-	0	18 9
	Osbornes,	-	-	1	5 0
Longhurst,	for Chace, -	-	-	1	0 0
Lasham, John, -	-	-	-	0	10 0
Miller, Sir Thos.,	for Firgrove,	-	-	1	5 0
	Ludshot,	-	-	14	10 0
	Lipscombs,	-	-	1	2 6
	Pococks,	-	-	1	1 3
Moore, Robert, -	-	-	-	0	7 6
Moore, John,	for Guns, -	-	-	1	5 0
Neale, John, -	-	-	-	10	0 0
	for Ewshothill,	-	-	6	0 0
Newman, John, -	-	-	-	0	5 0
Pim, Henry,	Land and Mill,	-	-	8	17 6
Rapley, Edward,	-	-	-	1	0 0
Richardson, John, Esq.,	-	-	-	1	10 0
Stilwell, James, -	-	-	-	0	12 6
Sturt, John, -	-	-	-	0	15 0

St. John, Sir Henry,	for pond, - - - - -	0	2	6
Stacey, John,	Fir Grove, - - -	4	10	0
	Coopers hill, - - -	6	5	0
	Boxalls, - - - - -	0	7	6
Smith, Fleet, - -	- - - - - -	1	0	0
Stilwell, Thos.,	Westland, - - -	8	2	6
	Lonsly, - - - -	5	10	0
	Curtis, - - - -	0	15	0
Strudwick, Wm.,	for Passfield, - - -	6	0	0
	Thornhill, - - -	1	6	3
	Waterside, - - -	3	7	6
Stilwell, Robert, -	- - - - - -	0	7	6
Stilwell, Wm., - -	- - - - - -	0	5	0
Trimmer, Rich., -	- - - - - -	5	3	9
Trigg, Wm.,	Wagners Wells, - -	0	15	0
Tipper, Robt., - -	- - - - - -	0	7	6
Tribe, Robt., - -	- - - - - -	0	15	0
Vaughan, Thos., -	- - - - - -	0	15	0
West, Wm., - -	- - - - - -	0	5	0
		203	1	3

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